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The Indian Historical Quarterly

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The gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs, the itihāsas and purāṇas of the Vedic literature

However authentic the genealogies of the Vedic religious teachers and the Vedic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* might be, they would form at best a skeleton of historical compositions properly so called. A more definite approach to history is marked by some ancillary branches of learning known to the Vedic times to which we now refer. These are the gāthās and the nārāśaṃsīs which may be roughly translated as 'epic song verses' and 'songs in praise of heroes' respectively [*Cf* Winternitz, vol I, p 226]. Already in a passage of the late tenth book of the *Ṛgveda* (*Ibid*, 85 6) gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs are mentioned as distinct but evidently allied types of composition, though elsewhere gāthā is used in the more general sense of 'songs'. [*Cf* *Vedic Index*, s.v.] The *Atharva Veda*, XV, 6 3-4 mentions gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs as the last and evidently the least important of a series of enumerated texts [The series runs as follows.—ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, yajūṃsi, brahman, itihāsaḥ, purāṇam, gathāḥ nārāśaṃsyaḥ] The daily study of gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs (or nārāśaṃsī gāthās) following that of the Rk, the Yajus, the Sāman, the Atharvāṅgiras and other texts is enjoined upon the householder in solemn and moving words in the Brāhmana and later works [*Cf* *Śat Br*, XI, 5 6. 4-8 = *S B E*, vol XLIV, pp 96-98, *Taitt Ar*, II, 10, ed Ānandāśrama Sansk Series, vol I p I 144, *Āśv Gr S* III 3 = *S B E*, vol XXIX, pp 218-219 In these passages the various classes of texts are said to constitute as many forms of offerings to the gods, and their recitation is said to satiate not only the gods but also the Fathers]

As forms of literary *genre*, though not as distinct branches of learning, the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs have their parallels at least in part, in some hymns and portions of hymns in the Ṛgveda and Atharva Veda Saṃhitās. We refer, in the first instance, to the so-called Dānastutis ("Praises of Gifts"), which form the concluding verses of a number of Ṛgvedic hymns Of these

hymns it has been said by a competent authority —"Some of them are songs of victory, in which the god Indra is praised, because he has helped some king to achieve a victory over his enemies With the praise of the god is united the glorification of the victorious king Finally, however, the singer praises his patron, who has presented him with oxen, horses and beautiful slaves out of the booty of war . Others are very long sacrificial songs, also mostly addressed to Indra, and they also are followed by verses in which the patron of the sacrifice is praised, because he gave the singer a liberal priestly fee" [Winternitz, vol. I, p 114] Another partial parallel is to be found in the so-called Kuntāpa hymns of the *Atharva Veda* [*Ibid*. XX, 127-136], of which we give below a specimen in Bloomfield's translation [*S B E*, vol XLII, pp 197-198].—

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals of Vaiśvānara Parikṣit!

"'Parikṣit has procured for us a secure dwelling, when he the most excellent one, went to his seat' (Thus) the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife

"'What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor' Thus the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikṣit

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels) The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikṣit"

The gāthās and nārāśamsīs formed such a necessary accompaniment of Vedic sacrificial ceremonies that their recitation was incorporated in the rituals of some of the great sacrifices We may illustrate this in the first instance from the example of the Aśvamedha which the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, XIII, 2 2 1 aptly calls 'the king of sacrifices', and which could only be performed by a victorious king or by a paramount ruler. [For a detailed account of the sacrifice according to the texts of the White Yajurveda, namely *Vājasaneya Samhitā*, *Śat Br* XIII, 1-5, *Kāty Śr S* XX, *Āśval Śr S* X 6-10, see now the excellent work of P-E Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris-Louvain, 1927 The appendix to this contains trs. of the Black Yajurveda version as given in *Āpast Śr S*, XX, 1-23, *Baudh Śr S*, XV, 1 30 and some fragments of the *Śr S* of Vādhula] On a number of occasions during the course of the sacrifice provision is made for the recitation of *gāthās* by musicians in praise of the sacrificer On the day of letting loose of the sacrificial horse the vīnāganagins (i e , as explained by the commentator, the musicians who sang to the accompaniment of all sorts of lutes) are required to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of just kings of

ancient times. This was repeated daily during the whole year of the horse's wandering and was continued in the same way down to the day of the sacrificer's initiation (*dīkṣā*). Afterwards the musicians have to sing daily, as before, praises of the sacrificer along with those of the gods. (See Dumont, *op. cit*, pp. 40, 56, 68, giving full references). Towards the conclusion of the ceremony the musicians have to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of Prajāpati (*Ibid*, pp 111, 126, 230) Still more pointed reference is made to the contents of the gāthās in connection with some other portions of the ceremonial On the day of letting loose the horse, a Brāhmana lute-player (*vīnāgāthin*) has to sing to the accompaniment of the *uttaramandrā* (a kind of *vīnā*, according to the commentator) three stanzas composed by himself on such topics as 'he performed such and such sacrifice' 'he gave such and such gifts' On the same day a Brāhmana lute-player sings three gāthās similarly composed by himself and relating to the sacrifices and gifts of the sacrificer, while a Ksatriya lute-player does the same on topics relating to the battles fought and the victories won by the sacrificer This has to be repeated each day during the whole year (Dumont, *op cit*, pp 32, 41-43, 304, 306).

In the above, it will be noticed, reference is made to *gāthās* celebrating generally the sacrificer's praises along with those of ancient kings or of gods, as well as those specifically praising the king's achievements as a sacrificer and conqueror Concrete instances of these types are found in a series of more or less parallel texts of *Śatapatha Brahmana* (XIII, 5 4. 1 ff.) and *Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* (XVI, 9) listing the famous kings performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice and of *Aitareya Brāhmana* (VIII, 21-23) enumerating the kings who performed the 'Great Consecration' of Indra [A link between these two sets of lists is furnished by the fact that most of the kings performing the 'Great Consecration' are said in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* to have offered the horse sacrifice Cf the following —"With this great anointing of Indra Tura Kāvaseya anointed Janamejaya Pāriksīta. Thereupon Janamejaya Pāriksīta went round the earth, conquering, bringing in every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." *Ait Br*, VIII, 21, Keith's trans]. To take a few examples, the *gāthā* quoted about king Janamejaya Pāriksīta is as follows.—

"At Āsandīvant, a horse grass-eating,
Adorned with gold and yellow garland,
Of dappled hue, was bound,
By Janamejaya for the gods."

Ait Br, VIII, 21 Keith's tr (H O.S., XXV, p 336)=*Śat. Br*, XIII, 5 4 2 and with slight variations. *Śāṅkh Śr S* XVI, 9 1

Of king Marutta Āvikṣita the following gāthā is quoted —

"The Maruts as attendants
Dwelt in the house of Marutta,
Of Āviksita Kāmapri
The All-gods were the assessors "

Ait Br, VIII, 21 *Cf Śat Br*, XIII, 5 4 6 *Śankh Śr S*, XVI, 9 16

The gāthās of Kraivya the Pañcāla king, are introduced to us in the following way —"At Parivakrā, the Pāñcāla overlord of the Krivis seized a horse meant for sacrifice, with offering gifts of a hundred thousand (head of cattle) "A thousand myriads there were, and five-and-twenty hundreds, which the Brāhmanas of the Pañcālas from every quarter divided between them " *Śat Br*, XIII, 5 4 7-8 (Eggeling's tr)

Lastly the gāthās about Bharata son of Duhsanta, are as follows —

"Covered with golden trappings,
Beasts black with white tusks,
As Masnāra Bharata gave,
A hundred and seven myriads

The great deed of Bharata,
Neither men before or after,
As the sky a man with his hands,
The five peoples have not attained "

Ait Br, VIII 23=*Śat Br* XIII, 5 4 11 ff

The verses about Janamejaya Kraivya and Bharata just quoted evidently belong to the class of gāthās in praise of kings' sacrifices and gifts to which reference is made in the account of the Aśvamedha sacrifice mentioned above On the other hand the verse relating to Marutta Āvikṣita comes within the category of gāthās praising the kings along with the gods Of another class of *gāthās*, those in honour of the gods, also referred to in the account of the Aśvamedha given above, it is unnecessary to speak in the present place Concrete examples of this class are the Indragāthās ('songs in honour of Indra') to which reference is made in the *Atharvaveda* (XX, 128. 12-16) and the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VI, 32)

As in the case of the ritual of the Aśvamedha, the recitation of gāthās was made by some authorities part and parcel of the *grhya* sacrificial ritual. One of the important 'domestic' rites is the Sīmantonnayana ('parting of the hair') which is performed on the expectant mother in the fourth, sixth,

seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Here the husband has to ask two lute-players (*vīṇā-gāthins*) to sing about the king or anybody else who is still more valiant (*Śānkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 22, 11-12 and *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 15. 7-8) or about king Soma (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 14 6-7).

Like the gāthās the nārāśamsīs are also found to be incorporated in some of the great sacrificial ceremonies The *Śankhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, in the course of its description of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice, mentions (*Ibid*, XVI, 11 Bib. Ind ed pp 205-6) a series of ten nārāśamsīs which are to be sung in regular cycles of ten days' duration Each of these is accompanied by a short statement of its subject-matter and a reference to the corresponding hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* We give below the list of these nārāśamsīs according to the short description of the original text —

1 How Śunaḥśepa, son of Ajīgarta, was released from the sacrificial yoke,
2 How Kakṣīvant, descendant of Uśij, gained the gift from his patron,
3 How Śvāvāśva gained gift from his patron,
4 How Bharadvāja gained gifts from his two patrons,
5 How Vasiṣṭha became the Purohita of Sudās,
6 How Āsanga Plāyogi, being a woman, became a man
7 How Vatsa, descendant of Kanva, obtained gift from his patron,
8 How Vaśa Aśvya gained gift from his patron,
9 How Praskanva obtained gift from his patron,
10 How Nābhanediṣṭha descendant of Manu, obtained gift from Angiras

It will be observed that the list given above consists, with one exception, of praises for gifts received or supplications to the deity for favours sought. The first and by far the more important class evidently falls into line with the danastutis of the *Ṛg-Veda* already mentioned

We may now consider the important and difficult question regarding the composition and authorship of the works under notice. In the account of the Aśvamedha given above, reference is made to *vīṇāganins* (musicians) singing praises of the sacrificer as well as Brāhmana and Kṣatriya *vīṇāgāthins* (lute-players) composing and singing songs in honour of the sacrificer's achievements Evidently then there already existed at this early period a class of minstrels who not only preserved and handed down but also composed songs in honour of human celebrities. This class, however, did not as yet form a closed caste or corporation, for individual Brāhmana and Kṣatriya musicians could play the same rôle Evidence is not lacking that a professional class of bards or minstrels had already emerged in the late Saṃhitā and Brāhmana times. In the list

of symbolical victims at the Puruṣamedha occurring in the *Vājasaneya Samhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmana* (III 4) we find side by side the lute-player and the flute-player as well as the *māgadha* and the *sūta* so familiar in Epic and Pauranic texts of later times. On the precise functions of the Vedic *māgadha* and *sūta* there is some difference of opinion [See *Vedic Index*, s v.], though their Epic and Paurānic successors stand for royal eulogists or panegyrists and sometimes for genealogists [See Pargiter, *The ancient Indian historical tradition*, pp 16-18, which gives full references]

The gāthās and nārāśamsīs occupy an important place in the development of Indian historical literature Apart from the gāthās to the gods, they may be proved by references in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas to relate to historical characters and incidents, [Thus Janamejaya Pārikṣita of the Kuru line, Para Ātnāra, king of Kośala, Marutta Āvikṣita king of the Pāñcālas and Bharata Dauhsanti of the great Bharata tribe are all conspicuously mentioned in the late Samhitā and Brāhmana literature, and they no doubt belong to the same period The references to Āsandīvant as capital of Janamejaya, and of Parivakrā as capital of Kraivya Pañcāla and to Nādapit as the birthplace of Bharata have every appearance of historical reality]. To the human authorship of the *gāthās* as distinguished from the supposed revealed character of the Vedic hymns pointed testimony is borne by a text of the *Aitareya Brāhmana* ["Om is the response to a *Rc* 'Be it so,' to a gāthā,' Om is divine 'Be it so' human," *Ibid*, VIII, 18, tr. A.B Keith, *Rgveda Brāhmanas*, p 309] Granting all these points the question still remains 'What is the historical value of the gāthas and nārāśamsīs of Vedic literature? We have first to admit that these works no doubt because of their courtly exaggerations drew upon themselves the reprobation of some of the Vedic schools Thus the *Kāthaka Samhitā*, the *Maitrāyanī Samhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmana*, all belonging to the Black Yajur-Veda, have a series of more or less parallel texts branding the gāthās and nārāśamsīs as lies and as the filth of Brahman (the Vedas) and placing acceptance of gifts from their reciters on the same moral level as that from a drunkard [*Cf* *Kāthaka Samhitā*, XIV. 5 anrtam hi gāthā = nrtam nārāśamsī mattasya na pratigrhyam = anrtam hi mattaḥ, *Taittirīya Brāhmana*, I, 32 6-7 · Yad brahmanah śamalam = āsīt sa gāthānārāśamsy = abhavat yad = annasya sā surā tasmād = gāyātaśca mattasya ca na pratigrhyam *Cf* *Maitrāyanī Samhitā* I, 11 5.]. These works however have been authoritatively recognised to be precursors of epic poetry [*Cf*. Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 4, followed by

Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 314]. With at least equal justice we may claim that they were the forerunners of the Indian historical *kāvya*, common to both being the fact that they eulogise the achievements of historical kings, naturally enough with some exaggeration

Distinctly superior in importance to the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans, though not from the standpoint of Indian historiography, were the classes of compositions known to the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas under the name of Itihāsa and Purāṇa We may freely translate them as 'legends of gods and heroes' and 'legends of origin' respectively. In the passage of the late fifteenth book of the *Atharva-veda* quoted above, they are mentioned after the sacred Rk, Sāman, Yajus and Brahman, and before the gāthās and nārāśamsīs, in a series of enumerated texts The same order is preserved in the above-quoted texts from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* II, 10 and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* III, 3, enjoining daily study of the Veda upon the householder In a number of parallel passages in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* virtually enumerating the known branches of learning at that time, Itihāsa and Purāṇa are similarly mentioned after Rg-Veda and Yajur-veda Sāma-veda and Atharvāṅgirasa, but before a number of subsidiary studies. (See *Ibid*, II, 4 10, IV, 1. 2 IV, 5 11 = *S B E*, Vol XV, pp 111, 153, 184) In a similar series of parallel passages in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII, 1 2, 2 1, 7. 1) Itihāsa-Purāṇa is mentioned as the fifth after the Rg-veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sāma-Veda and the Āthatvana, but before a number of secondary branches of learning In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 4 1-4 not only is the same order preserved (Rk, Yajus, Sāman, Atharvāṅgiras, Itihasa-Purāṇa), but a close connection is sought to be established between the last two

The elaborate account of the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* and other works shows that not only were Itihāsa and Purāṇa dignified with the title of 'Veda', but that their recitation formed an important element of the complex sacrificial ritual On the day of loosening of the sacrificial horse, the *hotṛ* priest recites to the crowned king surrounded by his sons nad ministers what are called the 'revolving' (or 'recurring') legends (*pāriplava ākhyāna*). These are so called because the priest recites on ten successive days as many different Vedas, and this goes on for a year in cycles of ten days each In the order of the narration Itihāsa and Purāṇa are reserved for the eighth and ninth days, while Rk, Yajus, Atharvan, Aṅgirasa, sarpa-vidyā, devajana-vidyā, māyā are mentioned for the first seven days, and Sāman for the tenth. (See *Śat Br*, XIII, 4, 3. 2 ff.,

Āśval Śr S. X, 7, 1 ff, *Śānkh Śr S*, XVI, 2. 1 ff For the slight differences, see Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rg-veda*, p 21*n*).

The recital of the *pāriplava* legends is evidently intended to show the models to whom the sacrificer is assimilated (*Cf* Dumont, *op cit*, p. 39, where the *pāriplava ākhyānas* are called "les anciens récits épiques, qui montrent les modèles du roi dans la légende, modèles auxquels on assimile le sacrifiant") Equally didactic is the use of Itihāsa and Purāna in certain domestic sacrifices described in the Grhyasūtras According to *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* when a misfortune like the death of a preceptor takes place, the members of the family should cast out the old domestic fire and kindle a new one Keeping that fire burning, they sit till the silence of the night narrating the stories of famous men and discoursing on the auspicious Itihāsapurānas (*Ibid*, IV, 6 6, *cf* Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I. p 290) Again, according to *Gobhila Grhyasūtra* on the occasion of the ceremonies on the new and full moon days, the husband and the wife should spend the night so as to alternate their sleep with waking, entertaining themselves with Itihāsa or with other discourse (*Ibid*, I, 6 6)

While the ritual and didactic import of Itihāsa and Purāna in these ancient times is sufficiently demonstrated by the texts, the same cannot be said of their character as historical compositions In the explanatory (*artha vāda*) portions of the Brāhmanas as distinguished from those enjoining the precepts (*vidhi*), there have been preserved specimens of the old Itihāsa and Purāna [*Cf* Sieg in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol VII *s v* Itihāsa, Winternitz, *op cit*, vol I, pp 208 ff] Here we have as examples of Itihāsas, the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī already known in the *Rg-Veda*, the legend of the Flood, the legend of Śunahśepa and so forth As examples of Purānas we have the legend of origin of the four castes out of the body of Prajapati and the various creation-legends A reference in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, XI 1 6 9 shows that wars between gods and Asuras also formed the materials of the ancient Itihāsa On the other hand we have as yet no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later Purānas according to the standard definition

U N Ghoshal

Historical References in Jain Poems*

In this paper I propose to indicate the incidental references to historical personages in the collection of Jain Poems named "*Aitihāsik Jain Kāvya-saṅgraha*" compiled by Messrs Agarchand Nahta and Bhanvarlal Nahta (published in Calcutta V.S. 1994). These are composed in Apabhraṁśa, Rājasthānī and Hindī.

The editors say that most of these poems pertain to the Kharataragaccha sect which flourished at Bikanir and that they have not been able to collect the poems pertaining to the Tapāgaccha sect except *Vijayasiṁha-sūri-vijayaprakāsarāsa* and another poem.

The poems are panegyrics and primarily intended to glorify the Jain Order. Historical events and personages are incidentally mentioned. Jain saints are said to have been honoured by royal personages. Some are credited to have impressed them not only by their piety and erudition but also by performance of magic and miracle. Historical truth may be embedded in such poems though they generally lack in authenticity. Strict scientific test should be applied to incidents mentioned and corroborative evidence supplied from contemporary records before they can be accepted as reliable statements.

In the songs eulogising Jinaprabhasūri we are told that he won the admiration of emperor Mohammad at Delhi:

राउ महंमद माहि जिणि, निय गुणि रंजियउं ।
मेढ मंडलि ढिल्लिय पुरि, जिण धरमु प्रकटु किउं ॥
तसु गच्छ धुरधरणु भयलि, जिणदेवसूरि राउ ।—श्रीजिणप्रभसूरिर्गीतम् ।

On Saturday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Paus in V.S. 1385 (=A.D. 1328) he visited the court of Muhammad Shahi, Asapati, at Delhi. The Sultan treated him with respect, seated him by his side, offered him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined as such gifts were according to rules of conduct unacceptable, but to honour him he took some clothes. The Sultan praised him and issued a *Firman* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basati* (*Upāśraya*, rest house for monks). A procession started in his honour to the *posadha-sālā* to the accompaniment of varied music and dance of young women, the

* Read at the 5th Session of the Indian History Congress at Hyderabad.

saint was seated on the state elephant (*Pāthathi*) surrounded by Maliks (Verses 2-9 in *Śrī Jinaprabhasūrīnam gītam*)

तेर पंचासियइ पोससुदि आठमि, सणिहिवारो ।
भेटिउ असपते "महमंदो," सुगुरि ढोलिय नयरे ॥२॥
श्रीमुखि सलहिउ पातमाहि विविहपरि मुणिसीहो ॥५॥
देइ फुरमाणु अनुकाम्वाई, नव वसति राय सुजाणु ॥६॥

Jinaprabhasūri's *pattadhara*, Jinadeva Sūri, was also honoured by Muhammad Shah who being pleased with his nectar-like discourse caused to be installed at Delhi the image of Vīra (belonging to or coming from Kannānapur) at an auspicious moment on an auspicious day

वंदहु भविय हो सुगुरु जिणदेवसुरि ढिल्लिय वरनयरि देमणउ
जेहि कन्नाणपुर मंडणु सामिउ वीर जिणु ।
महमद राइ ममप्पिउं थापिउ सुभलगनि सुभदिबसि ॥२॥
—श्रीजिणदेवसूरि गीतम् ।

In another song Jinaprabha Sūri is said to have won the admiration of Asapati "Kutubadinu" who invited the saint to come to his court at Delhi on the 4th and the 8th lunar days

आठाहि आटमिहि चउथी, तेडावइ सुरिताणु ए ।
पुह मितमुम्व जिणप्रभसूरि चलियउ, जिमि ससिइंदु विमाणिए ॥
"असपति कुतुवदीनु" मनि रंजिउ, दीठेलि जिणप्रभसूरीए ।

Jinacandra Sūri, the Pattadhara of Jinaprabodha Sūri also pleased Sultan Kutabuddin

कुतवदोन सुरतान राउ, रंजिउ स मणोहरु ·
जमि पयडउ जिणचंदसूरि, सूरिहि सिरसेहरु ॥६॥
—श्रीजिनकुशलसुरि पट्टाभिषेक रास ।

Now let us see who these Sultans are Jinaprabha Sūri visited Muhammad Shahi in A D 1328 Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne in A.D 1325 and died in 1351, Muhammad Shahi therefore must be Muhammad Tughluq.

The emperor was a versatile genius and is said to have known many sciences. Ziauddin Barni and Ibn Batuta have given him a blood-thirsty character, but they are agreed about his profound scholarship, his mastery over logic, dialectics and Aristotelian philosophy There was no doubt that he was a free-thinker and a rationalist, a man of culture and a friend of scholars Ziauddin laments, "The dogmas of philosophers, which are productive of indifference and hardness of heart had a powerful influence over him The punishment of Musalmans and the execution

of true believers with him became a practice and a passion."[1] On the other hand Brown says "His staunch orthodoxy is reflected on nearly all his coins, not only in the reappearance of the Kalima, but in the assumption by the monarch of such titles as the warrior in the cause of God."[2]

It seems that he was simply following an old practice and was not very orthodox, for he was an admirer of Shaikh Nizamuddin Awliya, who indulged in *sama*, or ecstatic dance accompanied by music, which militated against strict orthodoxy He put an inscription in Nāgrī on his token coins and is said to have favoured the use of Sanskrit on ceremonial days He loved to hear arguments of doctors of religion and had anticipated Akbar who listened to such disputations in the Ibadatkhana at Fatehpur Sikri It is no wonder therefore that he should have honoured the great Jain scholar and saint, Jinaprabha Sūri and his pattadhara, Jinadeva Sūri He is said to have honoured Simhakīrti, a great Jain logician from South India, who won renown at his court at Delhi by defeating professors of Buddhism and other dialecticians This incident seems to have happened between A D 1326 and A D 1337

In *Daśabhaktyādi-Mahāśastra*, a Sanskrit kāvya of Munindra Vardhamāna the following verses occur.

विद्यानन्दस्वामिनः सूनुवर्यः संजातः स सिंहकीर्तिव्रतीन्द्रः ।
ख्यातः श्रीमान् पूर्णचारित्रगात्रो दानस्वर्भूधेनुमन्दारदेशः ॥
वाभात्यश्वपतेर्दिनेशतनयो गङ्गाव्यदेशावृत.
श्रीमद्दिल्लिपुरेश्चहम्मदसुरित्राणस्य माराकृतेः ।
निर्ज्जित्याशु सभावनौ जितगुरुबौद्धादि + + + व्रजम् ।
श्रीभट्टारकसिंहकीर्त्तिमुनिराड् नाथ्यैकविद्यागुरुः ॥

In the Padmavati-vasti stone inscription of Humcca in the Nagara taluka (Mysore) occurs a corresponding passage, viz, वाभाति अश्वपतेर्दिने तननयो वङ्गाल्य देशावृत श्रीमत् दिल्लिपुरे...मुद सुरित्राणस्य माराकृतेः निर्जित्याशु सभावनं जिनगुरुबौद्धादिवादि-वृजं श्रीभट्टारक-सिंहकीर्त मुनिरा...थैक-विदामृगुरुः ।

Evidently "*Muda*" forms a part of the full word Muhammad (or Mahammad, almost always confounded with Mahmud) which became effaced or unreadable, but Rice takes it to mean *mild* (*muda*<*mudu*< *mrdu*) and adds "Mahmud" Dr Saletore reads "*tata na* bhūṣanādhya

1 Sir H Elliott, *History of India*, vol III, p 236

2 C J Brown, *The Coins of India*, pp 73 74

3 Ms No 253/kha of the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana noticed in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 5, 3

deva-vrta" and expresses surprise that Rice should have read it as "bangālya-deśāvrta."[4]

The verses quoted from *Daśabhaktyādi-mahāśāstra* set all these doubts at rest by expressly mentioning the name Mahammada (and not Muda) Suritrāna and Gangādhyadeśa which is evidently Bengal and give greater support to Rice.

The date of Vardhamāna, author of the *Daśa°* has been conjectured by Dr. Saletore to be A D 1378 (by assigning 30 years each to the following teachers in the *guruparamparā* counting back from Viśālakīrti whose earliest date he supposes to have been A D 1468, thus Merunandi-Vardhamāna-Prabhācandra-Amarakīrti-Viśālakīrti) which seems to get support from the mention of his name in a Sravana Belgolā record of A D 1372.[5] But in the *Daśa°* occurs a śloka that Vardhamāna composed it in *Śake Vedakharābdhi candrakalite samvatsare Śrīplave simha śrāvanike prabhākaraśive-krsnāstamī vāsare rohinyām* i e in Śaka era 1463 (or 1464, if the Vedas be four and not three) = A D 1541 The exact date can however, be ascertained from other particulars given about the *tithi* Whatever be his date, the author has in the *Daśa°* incorporated many extracts from the lithic inscription of Nagara taluka and he being much nearer to the date of the inscription than we are, it may be presumed that he found them in a better state of preservation than in the last decade of the 19th century and in the 20th century I think, therefore, his reading of the inscription may be accepted.

Jinaprabhasūri was an exceedingly erudite poet and scholar, and a distinguished Jain ācārya Muni Jina Vijayaji says in the introduction of his edition of the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri that the ācārya was greatly honoured at the court of Sultan Muhammad Shah even as much as Jagadguru Hīravijayasūri was at Akbar's court, and that perhaps he was the first saint to have glorified the Jaina dharma at the courts of Musalman Badshahs.[6]

From internal evidence his date can be ascertained. The earliest date of the composition of poems in this work is contained in the last stanza of

4 *Epigraphia Carnatica* 8 15 *Jaina Siddhānta Bhaskara* 4 4 containing a translation of Dr B A Saletore's article in *Karnatak Historical Review*, IV, pp 77-86. See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism* pp 370-71

5 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p 300

6 In Singhi Jaina Granthamala Series, Visvabharati Santiniketan

Vaibhāragirikalpa where occurs the first line thus *Varse siddhā sarasvadrasasikhikumite Vikrame* which gives us V.S. 1364 (= A D 1307), completion of the work is indicated in the line ***nandā-nekapaśakti sitagumite Śrīvikramorvīpate*** which gives us V S 1389 (= A D 1332) From other passages in the work it appears that they were composed earlier than V S 1364 and later than V.S. 1389

Extensive information of the activities of Jinaprabhasūri relating to our present subject matter is found in the work The incident of the installation of the image of Mahāvīra brought from the city of Kannānaya is related in *Kanyānayanīya-Mahāvīra-pratimā-kalpa* (in Prakrit) thus

The image was fashioned at the city of Kannānaya in the Cola country in V S 1233 (= A D 1176) When in V S 1248 (= A D 1191) Prthvirāja (*Pahavirāyanarimde*) the leader of the Cāhamāna clan was killed by Sahabadina,[7] Śresthī Rāmadeva sent a letter to the *śrāvakas* "The kingdom of the Turks has begun Keep the image of Mahāvīra hidden away' It was kept concealed in the sand at Kayamvasatthala, where it remained till V S 1311 In that year a great famine having occurred, a carpenter named Yojaka left Kannanaya for a more favourable country and came to Kavamvasatthala where having been warned in a dream he discovered the image, which was then placed in a Caitya house and worshipped Many disturbances occasioned by the Turks followed The image perspired one day at the time of bathing and though wiped still perspired This was an evil omen On the following morning the Jat Rajputs made an incursion In the year V.S 1385 the Sikdar of Āsinagar came and imprisoned the *sādhus* and *śrāvakas* and broke the stone image of Pārśvanātha But the image of Mahavīra was transported safe and whole in a cart to Delhi and kept in the store house of the Sultan at Tughlakabad pending his orders In course of time Śrī Mahammada Surattana came from Devagiri to Joginipura Once Jinaprabhasūri, the ornament of the Kharataragaccha sect, arrived in the course of his journey to Delhi Having heard from Dhārā-dhara, the astronomer, the praise of the great erudition of the saint, he sent him to the saint and brought him on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Paus The Sūri visited the Mahārājādhirāja who seated him close by his side, asked him about his welfare and conversed with him till midnight He passed the night there

7 Muhammad Ghori

and was again summoned in the morning The Sultan was delighted with the poetic skill of the Sūri and offered him a thousand cows, wealth, the chief garden, a hundred blankets, and clothes, and scents such as aguru, sandal, camphor etc Then the *guru* respectfully declined to take them saying that these were not acceptable to sādhus (*Sādhūnameyam na kappai sambohiūna mahārāyam pattsiddham savvam vatthu*). But on being pressed by the king and to honour him he accepted some blankets and clothes. Then the king caused him to dispute with scholars who came from many countries (*nānādesamtarāgaya pamdiyehim saha vāyagotthim kārāvittā*), and was so pleased that he mounted him and the ācārya Jinadeva on two stately elephants and sent them to the accompaniment of varied music to the *posadhasālā* Then the badshah (*pātasāhinā*) gave him a *firman* protecting all the Śvetāmbara order from harm. On another occasion the Sārvabhauma immediately granted him a *firman* affording protection to the *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage) of Satrunjaya, Girnar, Phalabaddhi etc On another occasion on a certain Monday when it was raining the Sūri came to the royal palace with his feet all muddy The Mahārāja took a costly piece of cloth from Malikka Kafur and wiped them The Sūri pleased him and regaled him with verses, at the excellence of which the king marvelled Taking this opportunity he asked the favour of the Sultan's making over to him the image of Mahāvīra, which was then brought from the store at Tughlakabad, and presented to the Sūri in open court in the presence of the Mallikś (Maliks) This was then installed by the entire Sangha in the *sarai* of Malik Tājadīna Then establishing Jinadeva Suri in his place at Delhi the Sūri went to the Maratha country, and by and by to Devagiri. Afterwards at Delhi Jinadeva Sūri saw the Sultan who showed great respect and made a gift of *sarai* which he named Surattānasarai. There the Sūri (*Kalikāla-cakkavatti*) built a *posadhasālā* and a *caitya*, wherein was established Śrī Mahāvīra

In (no. 51) *Kanyānayamahāvīra-kalpaparisesa* further information regarding the Sūri is obtained The Sūri got a *firman* from Muhammad Tughlak which secured the Caityas of Pethada, Sahaja, and Acala from molestation by the Turks. He is said to have crushed the pride of his opponents in disputation. Once during the course of a dissertation of the *śāstras* in the assembly of pandits, the emperor entertained some doubts and remembering the merits of the Sūri, said, "Had he been present here he would have easily resolved my doubts. Doubtless Brhaspati being vanquished by his

intellectual superiority has quitted the earth and gone to the skies" At that time Tajalamallik arrived from Daulatabad and having touched his head to the earth (Kurnish) said "The Mahātmā is there, but as the water there has not agreed with him, he has become emaciated." The emperor ordered the Mir, "O Mallik, proceed immediately to the Dubira khāna (Secretariat), cause a *firman* to be written, and be sent to Daulatabad" It duly reached the Diwan of Daulatabad. Kutal Khan, the *nāyak* of the city, respectfully communicated the message of the *firman* to the Sūri, viz that the emperor desired his presence at Delhi. The Sūri started and gradually came to Siri-allabapur-dugga (fort of Allabapur), then to Siroha, and ultimately met the emperor at Delhi The latter enquired about his welfare in mild words, then kissed his hand with great affection (*cumbio sasinehaṃ guiūnam kaio*) and held him to his heart with great respect The Sūri blessed him and proceeded to the *Suratānasarai posadhasāla* The emperor ordered the chief Hindu Rajas, also the great Maliks beginning with Śrī Dīnāra, to accompany him.

At another time in the month of Phalguna the emperor went out to receive his mother, Magadūma-i-Jahān, who was coming from Daulatabad and met her at Vadathūni The Sūri was with him The emperor afterwards gave him near his palace a splendid house (*abhinavasarāi*) to dwell in, and himself named it *bhattarāya-sarai* Then in V.S. 1389 (*terasayanavāsiavarise* A D 1332), on the 7th day of black fortnight in the month of Āsādha, the Sūri entered the *posadhasāla* with great eclat, music etc On another occasion in the month of Mārgaśirsa the emperor started on his march of conquest of the eastern quarters (*puvvadisajaya jattāpatthiyena*) and was accompanied by the Sūri The latter recovered the Mathura *tīrtha* Thinking that the camp life must have been greatly troubling the Sūri the emperor sent him back to Delhi from Agra in company with Khoje Jahāṃ Malika Taking the *firman* (pass-port) from the emperor for going to Hatthināpura the Sūri returned to his own place The Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras under the authority of the Imperial *firman* went about everywhere without let or hindrance

The punctilious detail with which the events have been described inclines one to believe that they were not altogether imaginary. The manner of bowing to the Sultan, and the latter's kissing the hand indicate clearly the familiar court manners

Now let us examine the authenticity of the personages mentioned in

the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* It has been said that the Sultan went out in full military array to greet his mother, Magadūma-i-Jahān, when she was coming back from Daulatabad and met her at Vadathūna (Badaon?)

According to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi* the first migration (transference of capital) to Devagiri occurred in 727 A H (=A D 1326-27), when the Sultan carried with him his mother Makhdum-i-Jahan, the amirs, maliks, and other notable persons with horses, elephants, and treasure of the state[8] It appears that in V S 1385 (=A D 1328) the emperor returned to Delhi (which seems to be corroborated by contemporary history) from Devagiri while his mother stayed behind Allowing time for the Sūri's journey to Deogiri, his stay there and his return to Delhi, the incident of his mother's return is likely to have happened in A D 1331 after which in V S 1389 (A D 1332) the Sūri entered the *posadhasālā* which was given to him by the Sultan When the Sultan was proceeding to Multan to chastise the rebel Shahu Afghan, he had not advanced far when the news came that his revered mother Makhdūm-i-Jahān had died at Delhi She was a lady of great talents the Sultan was overpowered with grief He tendered sincere respect to his mother, the dowager queen who enjoyed her regal state throughout her life[9]

It is said that the Sultan went out to conquer the east Rebellions were rife. In 1335 when Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar revolted the Sultan marched in person to chastise him In 1337 there were rebellions in Bengal It is to one of these that the text probably refers Kutalakhan was Qutlugh Khan, a title conferred on Qiyam-aldin, the Sultan's tutor He also received from the Sultan another title, *Vakil-i-dar* He was a man of integrity and was placed in charge of Devagiri His recall from Devagiri (745 A H) greatly depressed the people there[10]

Khoje Jahan Malik is the title of Khwaja Jahan conferred as a reward for his service on Ahmad Ayaz, the engineer who built the notorious pavilion (at Afghanpur) which caused the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak He also held the office of Wazirul-Mulk[11]

8 Dr Iswari Prasad- *History of the Qaraunah Turks in India* vol I, p 84

9 *Ibid* pp 172 310, Elliott *op cit* p 244

10 *Ibid*, pp 63, 146, 171, Elliott, *op cit* pp 251 253 App 571, Kasnd of Badi Chach

11 *Ibid*, p 83 He was also Malik Zada Ahmad, son of Ayas, Elliott, *op cit*, p 610

'Ubaid the poet spread false rumour that Sultan Ghiyasuddin was seriously ill and went to Malik Tamar, Malik Tigin ., Malik Kafur, the keeper of the seal, and told the nobles that Ulugh Khan looked upon them with suspicion Ghiyasuddin held a public Durbar in the plain of Siri, when 'Ubaid the poet and Kafur the seal-keeper and other rebels were flayed alive "[12] So he could not be the person from whose hands Muhammad Tughlaq took the towel to wipe the Sūri's feet

No date is available in the poems with regard to Qutbuddin We however know the date of Jina Candra Sūri the Pattadhara of Jinaprabodha Suri He was born in V S 1324 (A D 1267) and died in V S 1376 (A D 1319), Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, the Khilji emperor, ascended the throne in A D 1316 and was assassinated in A D 1320 "Qutbuddin" of the poems therefore seems to refer to him "Under Mubarak Shah Khilji" says Elphinstone, "the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindu" The meeting might have taken place in A D 1318, before the degenerate Khusrau cast his evil influence on him and brought about first his spiritual and then his physical death

We know from other sources that Sultan Mubarak Shah appointed Samara Singh, a great Jain of Patan, to an important post (*vyavahārī*) at Delhi Ghiyasuddin Tughlak regarded Samar Singh as his son and sent him to Telingana, where he built many Jain temples Muhammad Tughluk looked upon him as his brother and made him governor of Telingana Jinaprabha Sūri and Mahendra Sūri were favourites of the Sultan

Of Mahendra Sūri Nayacandra says [13]

एकः सोऽयं महात्मा न पर इति नृपश्रीमहम्मादसाहे ।
स्तोत्रं प्रापत् स पापं क्षपयतु भगवान श्रीमहेन्द्र: प्रभुर्नः ॥

KALIPADA MITRA

12 Elliott *op cit*, pp 203 608 App D from Travels of Ibn Batuta who says that the Prince had gone to Telingana with principal Amirs, viz, Maliks Timur, Tigin, Kafur the seal bearer He formed designs to revolt and made the poet 'Ubaid spread false rumour about Ghiyasuddin Tughluk who put 'Ubaid and Kafur to death

13 *Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference*, p 630

Early Indian Jewellery*

It is almost impossible to say anything about what the numerous female figurines in terracotta stood for A number of scholars have been unanimous in pointing out that there are several characteristics in these figures from which the figures may be identified as a female divinity who was widely worshipped in the west-Asiatic countries

It is a well known fact that enormous treasures in the shape of precious ornaments accumulate in Indian temples as offerings to the presiding deities from their devotees and there is a practice to bedeck the images with such ornaments. A study of the Indian images from very early times down to recent age shows that these were often bedecked with actual representations of ornaments From this we may infer that the ornaments shown on the terracotta figures found in the Indus valley might in all probability be the attempted representations of actual ornaments which were in vogue at that time.

A general survey of the ornaments displayed on these figures is now complete. It appears that the male folk of that age used to wear a broad fillet round their heads as also armlets of similar type It is difficult to say if they wore any other type of ornament to decorate other parts of the body But from the nude terracotta figurine and the seated yogi figure it is evident that the practice of adorning the male body with numerous necklaces, bracelets and earrings was not unknown The women usually wore earrings, necklaces, bracelets and armlets, elaborate girdles and anklets of various types But the fashion as would be evident from the bronze figures, might have been different among women of different social standing

Head-ornaments

Adornment of the head, as it appears both from these figures as well as actual finds, was a thing of much care among the chalcolithic people We came across several types of head ornaments in course of our survey of the human figures of which the broad diadems and the 'V' shaped fillets deserved

* Continued from vol XVIII, p 59

particular notice A few ornaments of both these types were actually found in course of excavation

The ordinary diadems appear like broad ribbons made of plain, beaten, thin sheets of gold Of these diadems, found in hoard no 2, one measuring 16 5" long and 0 55" wide has got a very interesting design embossed on its body towards the ends Probably the design was embossed with some pointed instrument [46] This design has a close affinity to the peculiar stand which occurs so frequently on the seals Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the peculiar thing represented a cult object [47] The rest of the diadems are more or less of the same length and breadth, they taper towards their ends where there are small holes, evidently for passing thread to fasten the ornament behind the head A diadem measuring 6 2" by 0 75" has a row of small holes along one of its longer edges These holes, it appears were meant to accommodate a number of small pendents An example of a broad forehead fillet, from the lower edge of which hangs a number of small pendents may be traced on the fragment of a terracotta female figure found at Dalbin [48] The type, curiously enough, survived for long

Mention has already been made of the peculiar angular fillets found in hoard no 2 [49] In all, there are only three of this type, each of which measures about half an inch in width Long arms of the fillets are seen to bend at the middle assuming the shape of a 'V' The arms have tapering rounded ends having small holes like the others for fastening Tiny little holes are also to be noticed at the angular ends Dr Mackay thinks that these holes were meant for suspending heavy nose ornaments [50] The question of nose ornament has already been discussed above. Moreover the angular forehead ornament noticed on one of the terracotta figures above does not display any such attached nose ornament. The fillet seen on this figure, however, has got its surface decorated with deep criss cross lines, while actual objects do not show any such ornamentation [51]

A number of these diadems was found in coiled up condition It appears that when not in use the fillets were kept rolled up Several

46 *MIC* p 527 pl cxviii fig 14 Cf *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, vol I, pp 67, 96
47 *MIC*, p 527
48 *ASIAR*, 1929-30 pl xxxiii, fig 1
49 *Ibid* 1925-26 pl xli
50 *MIC* p 527f
51 *ASIAR* 1925-26, pl xxxvi a

such fillets, in rolled up condition, are known to have been found from the grave of queen Sub-ad in Ur.[52] Traces of silver detected round the skulls of several skeletons found in the same grave led Sir Leonard Wooley to conclude that the habit of wearing diadems of silver was quite common among the women of Ur. Finds of actual diadems of silver were reported from various sites of Mesopotamia like Sumer and Kish.[53]

It may be pointed out here that fillets, so far found in the Indus valley are all objects of gold while the diadems used in Sumeria happened to be made of silver.

The practice of wearing forehead fillets survived in India for long and may be traced as late as those upon figures represented on the monuments of Bārhut and Sāñcī.[54]

Hair of most of the female figures rest covered under the peculiar headdresses. It however, appears probable, that the females usually grew long hair and arranging of hair in different ways could not be possible without the help of hair pins. The representation of a hair pin was already noticed to occur on a male figure, whose hair is shown arranged in a knot. A number of pin-shaped objects also discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, has been identified as hairpins. These objects are usually made of long stems surmounted by knobs of different shape.

Some of these objects deserve special notice due to the artistic executions of the knobs. One of these made of bronze, measuring 4.4" in height has its stem crowned by two tiny antelopes standing back to back. These antelopes have spirally twisted horns and ingeniously formed shoulders.[55] Another interesting pin of ivory, the stem of which is lost has its top shaped in the form of an ibex. The animal, having a somewhat relaxed body, is placed on a rectangular piece, from underneath of which probably issued three different shafts in its original state.[56]

It is interesting to note that these are the only specimens of personal ornaments found from Indus valley which have parts of them shaped in the forms of animal. Indus valley jeweller had a predilection for high polish in case of metal surface and geometric or symbolic designs in case of other

52 Wooley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 46

53 Wooley, *The Somerians*, fig. 17, Mackay, *Report of Excavation in Kish*, pl. iv, 24

54 Maisey - *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. xviii

55 *ASIAR*, 1929-30, p. 106, pl. xxxiii, fig. 1   56 *MIC*, p. 531, pl. clviii

elements On the other hand animal and even human shapes came to be a common feature in the ornaments of Egypt, Greece and various other ancient countries In India, however, animals never gained any great popularity in jeweller's art In Egypt, where there is quite a number of hairpins surviving from the ancient age, the pins are almost invariably found crowned with animal shapes The Scythians who excelled in shaping animal forms had also a great fascination for incorporating animal motifs in jewellery Foreign influence is probably responsible for the reluctantly used animal shapes in Indian jewellery-forms

Besides the pins mentioned above there are many circular disc shaped objects having holes drilled halfway through the centres of the discs on one side These have been identified as hairpin heads The holes were apparently drilled for the purpose of accommodating some sort of stem which used to be made of perishable material and have hence decayed [57] These circular things are mostly made of steatite or faience, each of these measures about 0.88" in diameter The upper surface of almost each of the discs has got a four point star device at the middle surrounded on all sides by a thick rope or herring-bone pattern which runs along the edge of the disc resulting in an extremely artful combination

The four point star happened to be a very favourite decorative device of the Indus valley people Excepting these discs the device occurs on a number of decorated vessels and many other broken pottery sherds The design was also known to the artist of Egypt but in Egypt it was never so much extensively used as in India [58] Sir Flinders Petrie claimed Egypt to be the mother of almost all the decorative devices which gained currency in the artistic world [59] It is, however difficult to say wherefrom this four point star motif derived its origin

Ear-ornaments

In course of surveying the human figurines above there had been occasion to refer to ear ornaments It is usually difficult to trace any ear ornament on these figures excepting a few The ear ornaments could not be

57 *MIC* p 531f pl clviii 2, 4 6 imitate capsules of some variety of lotus or water lily

58 Perrot & Chipiez *op cit* fig 305 Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* p 32, 48, Petrie, *Arts and crafts in Egypt*, fig 101

59 Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* p 5

shown on the terracotta figurines because of the high headdresses, pannier like objects or peculiar arrangement of the hair In practice probably, the ears remained concealed under these decorations Actual diggings have, however, revealed objects which cannot but be identified as ear ornaments

Of these, two tiny circular pieces of gold, (each measuring 1 2″ in diameter) discovered at Mohenjo-daro are worthy of special notice. Each of these circular bits hollows towards one side like a funnel at the point of which there is a small hole. Towards the inner side of the funnel a hollow tube is soldered at the face of the hole Each of these tube measures 0 5′ long and 0·27″ in diameter and slightly tapers towards the end This arrangement was probably meant for passing an additional broader tube having closed top so that the studs could be kept in position Besides high polish, the lusture of which still remains on the surface of the gold, each stud was decorated with a tiny bead moulding along the outer circumference causing a novel pattern The objects require no further explanation to be identified as ear studs With their high polish, neat decoration of bead mouldings and the clever arrangement for wearing, the studs survive as two very commendable specimens of early Indian jewellery [60]

Attention should be drawn to the close similarity of these studs and the floral studs known as '*Karnaphul*', extensively worn by women of various parts of India at the present time The survival of the form can be traced all through the periods of history and affords an example of how very ancient ornament forms survived for long without any great change

A curious drop, made of tiny copper and faience beads discovered at Mohenjo-daro, has to be mentioned in this connection because the object appears to have been an ear drop It has a dilapidated wire which issues out of the cluster of the beads and had probably the shape of a hook in its original state This device was evidently meant for suspending the drop from dilated earlobe [61]

Among the silver objects found at Mohenjo-daro there is a pair of slightly oval shaped rings which I am tempted to identify as earrings Plain thin sheets of silver were first made into tubes, the edges of which remained separated from each other by about 0 15″ These tubes were then bent to assume the shapes of oval rings At the two ends of each ring, which however, did not quite meet, were drilled small holes, evidently

60 *MIC*, p 194, pl cli, 7, 8 61 *MIC*, pl cxliii, fig 2

for passing threads The practice of wearing earrings with the help of threads still survive among various people of India. Judging from the narrow circumference and the oval shape, not to speak of the peculiar device of threading, the rings look more like earrings than ordinary bracelets The earrings of queen Sub ad of Ur present an almost similar type.[62]

There is a number of small circular studs, both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the stems from many of which are, however, lost One of these studs has a short broad topped stem, attached to its back This device was meant for wearing the ornament through some pierced portion of the body Dr Mackay has identified it as a nose stud[63] Many of the other studs have got their circular tops decorated with four point star decorations

Besides these ornaments, there are numerous small rings made of thin wires of copper, among the metal objects found from the excavated sites It appears that some of these rings which could neither be worn as arm ornaments nor as finger rings were in all probability, used as adornments of ear Similar rings of brass, silver or even copper are still worn by persons of both the sexes in various parts of India as earrings

Neck-ornaments

The adornment of the neck has always been considered as a thing of great importance to the lovers of jewellery and the wearers of jewellery in the Indus Valley devoted much care and energy to adorn their necks And as it happened at all times, the neck ornament of the female folk, it appears from the existing figures of clay were elaborate objects of different type varying from tight fitting collars to long dalliers

In case of some clay figures the neck ornaments appear to be representations of chains No actual chain, which could be used as neck ornament has yet been discovered from the excavated sites Other types of neck ornaments in these clay figures are shown by means of peculiarly set strips and pellets of clay Mention has already been made of numerous beads and pendents of different material, found from all over the excavated sites Though no actual neck ornament has yet been discovered in tact from any of these sites yet it may be easily presumed from these beads and pendents that most of the neck ornaments in case of the

62 *ASIAR*, 1924 25, pl xx, c For the earrings of Sub-ad see Wooky, *Ur of the Chaldees*, pl iv, fig 1

63 *MIC*, pl clii, fig 7 p 528

clay figures indicated by the pellets of clay represented actual objects made of similar beads and pendents

The abundance of beads and pendents reveals that these objects were extensively used and were very popular as elements for the manufacture of jewellery These beads etc were made mostly of stone, but metal like gold, silver and copper alloys like bronze, objects like shell and paste and even terracotta were also freely used for the manufacture of these things

In one particular case some beads were found to survive within a jar secured in a thread in the form of a string The string however, disintegrated at the attempt to remove it from the jar It is clear that threads in these strings, unlike the metal wires used in the strings found in places like Egypt were made of such perishable material as cotton As such threads could easily rot away due to constant use, the beads and pendents frequently escaped from the strings This is a reason why we get so many of stray beads scattered through the excavated sites The beads surviving in the jars, appear to have been put inside the pots in original unbroken form but due to decay of the threads in almost all the cases no one was found in an undisintegrated condition, nor there is any clue to restore these to their original state Though the particular one mentioned above survived in tact, the decay of the thread at the very first touch rendered it equally useless for the determination of its original form

The shape size, colour polish and many other similar details regarding these beads have given rise to various problems regarding their origin date, the extent of area over which different types could be traced during different periods, and the like Though the technical study of these problems is more a subject of Anthropology yet some observations on the quality of the beads may not be far fetched in a study like this which is primarily aesthetic, for a greater understanding of the comparative value of the ornaments found from the different west Asiatic countries

Beads of different material had different technical process of manufacture Beads of metal were usually made by casting the metal in suitable moulds But beads made of beaten thin pieces of metal soldered together are also not rare The beads of stone were probably first pieced out from suitable stones and then put into shape by flaking and constant rubbing on some harder surface Much care was taken to cut, polish and bore these beads Boring of the hard stones was a difficult job and was probably accomplished by means of a sort of pin shaped copper rod, the

like of which was extensively found from the excavated sites at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Beads were probably bored from either ends because in some cases discrepancies can be traced at the centres where the two holes met. But such discrepancies are rare and in majority of cases borings were done with much care and the irregularities were polished off by rubbing, so that the translucency of the beads was in no way jeopardised. Some of the beads made of steatite have got astonishingly tiny size. Their holes were so tiny that they could have been strung on hair or threads having similar thinness. The size of the beads has made Dr Mackay wonder as to how they could be made.[64]

The greatest skill in respect of bead making was shown by the Indus valley craftsman in making beads of faience. Faience, as has already been said, was a compound of silica and flux, and the hot and molten liquid was made to assume the requisite shape by being cast in moulds. Among the faience beads quite a number shows traces of beautiful colour which used to be added to the compounds, before the compounds were put into the furnace. Faience beads have also been found at Ur and Kish and also in Egypt. In Egypt these occur during the XIIth dynasty. Some scholars think that such beads were not manufactured in Egypt but were imported there from outside.[65] It may be possible that the technique of manufacturing faience was originally discovered in India.

Beads found from the ancient sites have always been a thing of great interest to the archaeologists as these objects have been found to supply very important clues leading to correct dating of ancient sites. Detailed technical information regarding the beads may be looked up in the volumes brought out by the Archaeological Survey of India on these proto-historic sites. The aesthetic value of the beads and how best they were used could fully be realised, however, only if the method of matching the colours and size of the different beads in the original strings was known. How creditably the Indus Valley jeweller matched the different colours in the strings and how developed was his sense of colour and adjustment of shapes can, however, be guessed to some extent from some of the strings recomposed by the 'Department'.

Nothing has been known about the use of so called precious stones like

64 Dr Mackay is to be credited for his elaborate study on beads.

65 T. G. Allen, *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection*, p. 113.

pearl and diamond in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Dr Mackay is of opinion that such stones were not worked in those places due to their extreme hardness.[66] Pearl became the most popular element for the manufacture of beads in India during the historic period. In the Indus Valley we find an extensive use of shells but pearl is conspicuous by its absence.

About fifteen varieties of beads can be traced among the finds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Besides these, along with these objects have often been found pawn shaped objects of various shapes, grooved at the top and in most cases there are holes drilled through them from end to end. In case of several such objects gold wires are found passed through the holes and formed into loops at the top of the pawns. Evidently these were used in the strings as pendents.

Besides these pendents of usual type several other objects have also been identified as some sort of pendent. Of these the heart-shaped objects deserve special notice. Of these heart-shaped objects mention has already been made of one of gold found at Harappa. It is made of thin sheet of gold beaten out from behind into three concentric heart-shaped designs in which the sunken surfaces between the raised rims were inlaid with ribbed bands of blue faience. On the reverse side there are hooks attached at the top, evidently meant for suspending the object from a string. The object is, however, unique of its kind and can easily be commended as an object of high aesthetic and technical value.

Two other heart-shaped objects were also found at Harappa one made of faience and the other of steatite. The one of faience tapers towards the edge and has a hole made at the base, for attachment. The tip of the object is sharply pointed. The object was probably originally covered with some glaze which can no longer be traced.[67] The other one has got no peculiarity to note and was recovered in a fragmentary condition.

The heart motif is one of the earliest decorative elements discovered by man and was extensively used in the Indus valley as a common design for vase decoration and other purposes. Its earliest occurrence as a symbolic design can be traced in paintings of the cave dwellers of Spain.[68] In some of the seals found in the Indus valley also, where it occurs on the body of animals depicted on them, the design have been used to convey some symbolic meaning. Its association with magic appear to be responsible for

66 *MIC*, p 509

67 Vats, *op cit*, p 441

68 Von Herbert Kuhn *Die mlerei Deeiszeit*, p 42

its name and probably from the very beginning of its inception, the heart motif came to be regarded as a portent embodying the magic force of life. Till recently heart-shaped pendents of gold were extensively in use in Bengal, and its association with ornaments as necklace pendents reveal the great antiquity of some modern ornament forms and the queer continuity of belief in magic

Of the other objects which appear to have been used for the same purpose a crescent shaped bead of banded agate deserves some notice That it was used in some string which might have been used as a neck wear is evident, and it is interesting to mention in this connection that exactly similar beads of banded agate are still found to be worn by children in Bengal as portents

Wherever heaped up in piles, these beads and pendents are found to have among them two very interesting type of objects, one is a semi-circular piece usually made of metal, the other a flat rectangular piece made either in gold, silver, copper or stone The semi-circular objects are in most case hollow and have small holes at their apices The flat strips have usually two to six holes through them.

The association of these objects with the beads and the pendents goes beyond doubt to prove that they had something to do with the strings which were made with those beads etc Bead-strings were extremely popular in India throughout the early period in history and representation of these strings occur freely on the sculpture of the contemporary age A figure at Bodhgaya, dated about first century B C has got the representation of a girdle of uniform globular beads [69] The beads appear arranged in three rows, spaced after three beads in each row by means of a thin flat rectangular spacer through which the threads of the string pass. Similar strings with spacer arrangements are also found on the decorative elephants on gateways at Bharut and Sanchi [70] In these representations at Bharut and Sanchi again the strings are found to terminate at one end in a peculiar semi-circular terminal having very close affinity to the semi-circular objects mentioned above From these representations there remain little doubt regarding the fact that the rectangular and the semi-circular objects found in the Indus valley sites were not different from the spacers and terminals which were used in the composition of strings

69 Bachhofer—*E I S*, pl 39 70. Maisey, *Sanchi etc*, pl xvii

The use of almost similar spacers and terminals fundamentally of the same shape may also be traced in the neck-strings made of gold and silver beads which are still in use in Northern India. The continuity of the technique for such a long time is an interesting phenomenon This is, however, a very simple way of composing strings of beads, and almost all the bead-strings used in the Indus valley were probably made in this process.

As has already been said, no string has survived in original state and the strings cannot be studied in their true perspective Yet the Archaeological Department have recomposed a number of beads etc discovered from the excavated sites into a few strings of different variety Among these recomposed strings some appear to be quite shapely and true, to some extent, to some of the original strings But in a number of other cases shown in the 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization', where there are terminals though these are only single string compositions, appear to be quite illogical.

Of the strings which appear to have some resemblance to some of the originals a few deserve particular notice for their beauty, technical quality and the long continuity of the types Five spacers, two terminals and 240 uniform globular beads found close together, which probably constituted one string have been re-made by the 'Department' into a string of exceeding beauty As there are five holes in each spacer the beads have been arranged in five rows, the rows are spaced by three spacers and the two remaining spacers serve as the base of the terminals The ornament was identified by Dr Mackay as a bracelet Usually arm ornaments may be expected in pairs. A number of very tiny beads, spacers and terminals found at Harappa were actually re-made into a pair of wrist bands in the same technique In the above case the ornament appears to be a bit too long to be used as a bracelet On the other hand ornaments very much resembling this one may still be found used in northern India by women as 'kanthī' or neck-collar Neck-collars were in vogue in the Indus valley as is evident from the clay figures mentioned above and I am in favour of identifying the object as a chalcolithic neckwear, the archetype of the 'kanthīs' of the later age, the shape of thing having changed very little in course of its long continuity Worn at the end of a slender neck the yellow of the polished gold was sure to create a nice effect.[71]

71 *MIC*, p 522, pl cxlix, 3

Next we shall take note of a rather unusually long string recomposed from 42 long barrel shaped beads of carnelian. The beads have been arranged in rows of six strands and the rows are divided into compartments by copper spacers which are flanked by globular beads of copper, some of which are covered by gold. Dr. Mackay is in favour of identifying the ornament as a necklace but it might, as it appears from its length, be a girdle as well.[72]

A number of light green barrel shaped beads of jade, 25 discular beads of gold and seven pendents of agate jasper found together in a container at Mohenjo-daro were recomposed by the 'Department' into a string of unsurpassed beauty. The pendents of jasper have thick gold wires thinned out and coiled two or three times at their proximal ends to form loops. The string have been made by passing a thread through the barrel shaped beads, the discular reels of gold and the loops of the pendents. All the pendents are at the centre while the barrel shaped beads placed on either side of the pendents are separated from each other by groups of the discular reels, there being five discs in each group. The beads and the pendents show high finish and exquisite workmanship and though it cannot be definitely said whether the string really resemble its original shape yet in whichever arrangement these might have been, the ultimate merit of the string cannot be overpraised. The colour of the pendents, the smooth refractiveness of the jade beads and the shining quality of the gold reels bespeak a well developed sense of colour and craftsmanship almost reaching a state of sophistication.[73]

Besides these beads and pendents now available in a threaded form numerous other beads and pendents were found from all over the excavated sites of Indus valley which with or without the help of the accompanying spacers and terminals may be re-made into a good many other strings of similar merit. It may here be pointed out that the technique of composing bead-strings with the help of almost similar terminals and spacers was not only known in India alone but may also be traced in a very distant country like Egypt. In an XVIII Dynasty grave at Giza in Egypt were discovered a few necklaces, bracelets and anklets sticking to the bones of a number of skeletons. These strings were all made of beads of different types in a process noticed above, with the help of semicircular ter-

72 *MIC*, p 520, pl cli, bottom 73 *MIC*, p 519, pl cxlviii, a

minals and zig-zag shaped spacers of gold Occurrence of strings made in this process is very rare in Egypt and is not known during other Dynasties excepting the XVIIIth and these strings were probably used only to adorn the dead bodies. On the other hand strings made in this technique enjoyed wide popularity in India and its continuity can be traced from the chalcolithic age down to the modern times. From these facts it may not be unreasonable to think that the technique was an original discovery of India and it was brought into Egypt by way of trade [74]

The strings noticed above are mostly of considerable length and were probably used as neck and waist ornaments But there are at least two short strings which cannot but be identified as wrist bands These two ornaments were made of little beads with tiny spacers and terminals of equally suitable dimensions, all made of gold These were recovered along with other ornaments at Harappa From these ornaments it is evident that strings made in the above mentioned technique could also be used as arm ornaments Such ornaments occur in Egypt as anklets too but whether these could be used here also to the same end cannot be said

Arm-ornaments

Among the arm ornaments which were in use in India from very early time the occurrence of bead strings are not rare but the usual common and widely worn form of arm ornament always had been of the shape of some sort of a ring We may now pass on to the rings discovered in the Indus valley, the number of which is by no means insignificant A good many of these rings appear to have been worn as ornaments of the arm

A number of these rings occurs in different metal These rings have, however, been found in very bad states of preservation and many will never be restored to their original states

Some of these rings were made of thin sheets of metal These sheets were first made into tubes of different shape and it appears that these tubes were originally filled with some sort of core, probably bitumen, which melted away in course of time It may be pointed out here that rings made of metal tubes are still widely worn all over India and are known as *vālā* (=Sanskrit *valaya*=bracelet) In these modern bracelets cores of shellac are widely used From the point of using some core to harden the

74 Hasan, *Excavations at Giza* p 44, pl lxxviii, lxxiv

metal tubes the Indus valley craftsman had already passed the earlier stages of evolution and the rings had already assumed a definite shape upon which little fundamental change was made during the subsequent age

Very few metal rings have been found in any fair state of preservation but the technique in which these rings were made appear to have been more or less the same The tubes in the rings were made by joining the sheets inside the rings, the edges of the sheets sometimes only met, sometimes they were allowed to overlap securing the core inside. The two ends of the rings, after being bent to assume shape, were probably cut with a saw Sometimes there are found two small holes drilled at these ends evidently to pass some sort of thread It appears that after the rings were worn the two ends of the threads were fastened so that the ends of the rings might not get widened allowing them to escape from the arms It is interesting to note that the surface of the metals were in all these rings, left without any decoration and the merit of these bracelets lay in the high polish of their surface We have examples of works of granulation and even inlay but it cannot, however, be explained why, the polished metal surface was usually preferred to any undulated, embossed, granulated or any other form of decoration

The rings of faience shell and terracotta have generally been found in fragmentary conditions In some bangles of faience and shell, the outer surfaces of the rings happened to be decorated with one, two, or three deep grooving or relief of a herringbone pattern[75] The herringbone pattern is a very widely used decorative design of the Indus valley and can be seen to occur frequently on the earthenware vases This design can be traced also in Egypt[76] Why it came to be so closely associated with the bracelets cannot be definitely said Several other designs may also be traced but the herringbone design was liked most

Of the rings found intact, a pair of faience ornaments deserves special notice because of the peculiar heart-shaped form of the rings and the deeply serrated edges The inner side of the rings are regularly polished and it appears probable that the rings were used as wristlets. This peculiar pair of bracelets was discovered at Harappa[77]

75 *MIC*, pl cxxxiv 1— also figs 5 7
76 Petrie, *Decorative Art of Egypt*, p 51 figs 91, 92
77 *ASI*, *AR*, 1934-35, pl xi fig 30

A nice specimen of terracotta bracelet discovered in an undamaged condition in a pit at Mohenjo-daro shows that ornaments made in terracotta were also made with sufficient care. The practice of using terracotta ornaments was prevalent. Made of fine clay the object was given a very smooth surface and a slip of pink paint to make it attractive. Its pair is missing.[78]

The copper rings which are so numerous have been found to occur mostly in simple form. They were usually made by unceremonious bending of wires of very little thickness. Of these rings some are too small in diameter and were probably meant to be worn either as finger or as ear rings. There is a curious ring of silver having a square bezel showing a Maltese cross on it. The existing of this object shows that the use of finger rings was also in vogue. The practice of sealing documents with rings of personal use has been a very common one in Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia and India and it may not be unreasonable to think that the bezel seen on the ring mentioned above served a similar purpose.[79]

Other ornaments

Reference has already been made to two peculiar gold ornaments while describing the hoard of jewellery found at Harappa. Each of these ornaments has 27 conical bosses of gold soldered together in an ingenious device, seven placed at the middle while the remaining twenty surround them on all sides. At each end of the ornaments is found a small hook which was evidently meant for accommodating some sort of fastener. Rings made of similar bosses, usually made of silver are still now found as a popular ornament among the women of northern India. These are now known as Kaḍā. It is quite possible that the beautiful ornaments which occur in pair were also meant for the adornment of arm.[80]

The account of personal ornaments discovered from the Indus valley sites is not complete without a description of the peculiar S-shaped object referred to above. At the base of the object there is a flat S-shaped plate of silver. On this plate were soldered the tiny beads of gold symmetrically bent to assume the peculiar shape. It is then inlaid with two rows of tiny cylindrical beads of burnt steatite capped with gold ends. In each of the two loops formed within the plate there are pinholes, evidently for attach-

78 *MIC*, p 528, pl clxi, 12 79 *MIC*, p 520, pl cxlviii, A, fig 13
80 Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p 64 pl lxxxvii, 6, 20.

ment. Mr Vats is of opinion that the thing could be worn as an attachment to wearing-apparels as a brooch On the other hand it may be pointed out that the object has close affinity to the modelled buckles seen on the girdles of the figures of clay It is evident from these figures that several types of girdle buckles were in use but no actual specimen excepting this one is found to have any similarity to these modelled buckles It may not be unreasonable to think that this one is a surviving specimen of the type of buckles which were actually in use

We have ended with a brief account of the forms and the techniques of the principal specimens of ornaments recovered from the chalcolithic sites of India. 'Trinkets' observed Mayers 'are closely connected with dress and costume, and like them objects of fashion.' He had also very aptly said that the form and finish of ornaments are governed not only by fashion and taste of each period but also by the technical skill of the workman It may further be added that what has been said by Mayers is not all Jewellery forms are also conditioned by the peculiar artistic tendencies of the different people which make these ornaments The mutual influence of neighbouring people upon each other are also very often found reflected in the artistic activities of both.

Very little is known regarding the dress and costume of the Indus valley people Of a people living in a moist tropical atmosphere nature usually demands their body to be kept bare From literature as well as sculpture of ancient India it appears that the early inhabitants of the country maintained, irrespective of sex, the tradition of going with as little clothing as possible Bare body eventually affords a complete freedom in the use and display of personal ornaments in as many varieties as human fancy may conceive Keeping the body bare as well as going with loads of personal ornaments on have been considered by many people as barbarous but the advantages of both these habits have always been exploited by the Indian jeweller to the fullest extent. From the sculptural remains and the actual ornaments found in the Indus valley it may not be unreasonable to think that these earliest inhabitants of the country were not far removed from their successors in both these practices

The taste of the period can be guessed to a certain extent from the bronze, stone and the terracotta figures discussed above The figure showing a dignified personality clad in a shawl displays a fillet around the head and an armlet around the surviving upper arm It does not show any

neck wear. Does it suggest that people of noble origin did not favour the wearing of any neck ornament?

The figures of the two dancing statuettes show a peculiar way of adorning ones arms. Dr Mackay suggests that this might be a peculiar fashion prevailing among the dancing women The numerous terracotta figures, however, suggest that like the Indians of the early historic age the Indus valley people also took delight in wearing as many ornaments on the adornable parts of the body and this provided sufficient scope for the jeweller to formulate his ornaments in as many varieties as possible

The technical knowledge of the Indus valley jeweller was of an advanced character, the steps in the progress of their achievement cannot, however, be traced Study in the evolution of technical knowledge shows that the artist began from a very simple state The earliest ornaments, as has already been said, were flowers and creepers, tree leaves and feathers of birds, claws and bones of animal, etc Introduction of stones and metals was the next stage At this stage it was probably the aim of the artist to make their ornaments look as near their prototypes like the flowers etc as possible. Repetition led to conventionalisation Then probably came the urge to break the monotony of forms and surfaces This stage probably saw the coming of the advanced technical skills like the casting, soldering, inlaying embossing, cutting jewells and encrusting these on metal surfaces The last one was the crowing achievement of the jeweller In the Indus valley precious stones were not known but all the above mentioned techniques including the encrusting of stones on metal surface were already in existence in the Indus valley They showed originality in finding out the process of making the artificial coloured object called faience and inlaid it frequently on gold and other surfaces The soldered conical bosses in the supposed arm-pieces show a great advancement in the art of shaping, polishing and soldering while on the 8-shaped piece we come across the technique of inlaying stones on the surface of gold This art is not known to occur in Mesopotamia, in Egypt and Siberia it appears quite late in date In Egypt it occurs in the pectorals of the XIIth Dynasty while the Siberian objects cannot be dated earlier than 1000 B C The way in which the Indus valley workers overcame the monotony of form also appear to be of their own find

It may be pointed out that the Indus jeweller scrupulously avoided animal forms which are quite common in Egypt, among the Scythians of

Siberia and in Persia from where it had also found its way to Greece. Sprinkle of animal form is not rare in Indian jewellery of early historic age but foreign influence appears responsible for the phenomenon.

In summing up, attention may be drawn to an interesting feature regarding the finds of the ornaments. It is the existence of highly developed technical forms side by side with ornaments of materials in which there had been no scope for showing any technical brilliance. The struggle for mastery over various complicated techniques was already in a highly advanced stage and in this respect the jeweller of India had far surpassed his neighbour in Iran and Mesopotamia. Their indebtedness to their neighbour in respect of jewellery forms and techniques was, as in case of various other arts, insignificant. Then what was the reason of the existence of ornaments embodying elaborate technical skill on the same level with the ornaments of very common type.

Its answer rests with the very character of the sites. The excavations carried out in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Siberia etc. have brought to light only one aspect of life that of people of an economically well placed order. Whatever hail from these countries belonged either to a king or a queen or men of similar position.

The sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are totally different from their neighbours in this respect. It cannot be said to whom the ornaments so far discovered from these sites belonged. But the antiquities discovered from the sites reflect the taste of the citizens irrespective of their economic position. That is why there are objects which were used by economically well placed people side by side with objects used by very poor people with little scope for the display of technical skill. But the care taken to finish the bracelet of terracotta compares quite favourably with the efficiency shown in finishing the elegant ear ornament or the elaborate 8 shaped brooch.

KALYAN K. GANGULI

The Historical Background of the Works of Kālidāsa

In determining the probable date of Kālidāsa there is practically complete unanimity among scholars regarding the connection of Kālidāsa with one Vikramāditya. Although Sanskrit literature makes no mention of the relation of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya in any of the numerous works dealing with Vikramāditya, yet on the authority of a verse[1] in a work called *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* attributed to Kālidāsa, which work is itself not accepted as a genuine work of Kālidāsa and has been more or less accurately assigned to the 11th century A D, all modern scholars speak of the unquestionable tradition of India regarding the connection of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya.

After accepting this connection, the attempt of scholars has been to fix the particular Vikramāditya in whose reign Kālidāsa could have flourished. Yaśovarman of Kanouj is too late. The majority of scholars are inclined to identify the Vikramāditya with one of the Gupta emperors. Some people try to show that this must be the Vikramāditya who founded the Vikrama Era.[2] In the name Vikramorvaśīya and in the occurrence of the word Vikrama twice in the first Act of that drama,[3] people assume that Kālidāsa was hinting at Vikramāditya. In the names of Kumāra Skanda and Candra born of ocean found in the *Kumārasambhava* and in the *Raghuvaṃśa* there is the opinion prevailing that there are hints about Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and Candragupta son of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Further, in the conquests of Raghu people see a similarity with the conquests of Samudragupta. In the Aśvamedha of Puṣyamitra mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,[4] people see a reference to the great sacrifice performed by Samudragupta. Not only this, in the various words connected with the root *gup*, they see a hint of the Gupta dynasty

1 धन्वन्तरि-क्षपणकामरसिंह-शङ्कु-वेताल-भट्टि-घटकर्पर-कालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

2 B C 56

3 (a) दिष्ट्या महेन्द्रोपकारपर्याप्तेन विक्रममहिम्ना वर्द्धते भवान् । and (b) अनुत्सेकः खलु विक्रमालङ्कारः

4 In the fifth Act. See note 33 below

also The description in the *Kumārasambhava* of the ladies in the city of Osadhiprastha[5] when Śiva was entering the city for his marriage and the same passages appearing in the *Raghuvaṃśa*[6] when Aja was entering the city of Vidarbha for his marriage with Indumatī are taken to be imitations of passages in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghosa.[7] Kālidāsa's knowledge of Greek astronomy[8] and his knowledge of the theories of Āryabhata[9] are other evidences brought forward to assign for Kālidāsa a date about four centuries after the Christian era.

Without attempting to discuss any of these views which are by now well known to everyone who is acquainted with Kālidāsa research and without even giving any references to modern contributions in connection with the points mentioned above, I turn my attention to find out if there are other evidences that point out to any other date for the great poet There is nothing that can be called a definite evidence If there were such an evidence there would have been no controversy on the point The matter has to be decided by inferences What are the most acceptable data for such inferences? This is the only point at issue

The Bharatavākya in the *Mālavikagnimitra*[10] is something unique It mentions the name of the hero of the drama It is only in the *Mudrārakṣasa* that we come across the name of the hero appearing in the Bharatavākya.[11] Usually it refers to the king reigning at the time when the drama was first put on the stage and that without any mention of the

5 Canto VII verses 56-69

6 Canto VII, verses 5-16 There are slight variations in some places

7 Canto III, verses 13-24

8 Use of Jāmitra in अथौषधानामधिपस्य वृद्धौ तिथौ च जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम which is a Greek word- *Kumārasambhava*, VII-1

9 *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto XIV verse 40

10 त्वम्मे प्रसादसुमुखी भव चण्डि नित्य-
मेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपक्षहेतोः ।
आशास्यमीतिविगमप्रभृति प्रजाना
सम्पत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे ॥

11 वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपं
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

Here king Candragupta is mentioned as reigning over the kingdom

name of the king.[12] Sometimes there is no reference to a king at all and in the Bharatavākya we find only a general prayer for prosperity and happiness.[13]

In *Mudrarākṣasa*, the name of the hero happens to be identical with the name of a later king, namely Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty and if we assume that the drama was written at the time of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty, then the Bharatavākya mentions only the name of the reigning king and not of the hero. Of course the author has taken advantage of the identity of the two names and thus introduced the real name of the king instead of simply speaking of the king without mentioning his name as in many other dramas. Further Candragupta of the Maurya dynasty had no need to save the earth from the oppression of the Mlecchas since at his time the Greeks were not able to invade India and conquer any part of it. On the other hand, he defeated the Greeks and annexed a part of the Greek empire in Persia into his own empire. In the case of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty, the Śakas were masters of portions of the country and he had to save the country from this foreign domination. So the statement in the Bharatavākya of *Mudrārākṣasa*[14] that Candragupta saved the country from the oppression of the Mlecchas is more appropriate as a description of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty than of the hero of the drama himself.

It is only in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that we find the name of the hero appearing in the Bharatavākya.[15] If it is a general rule that in the

12 मृच्छकटिक :—क्षीरिण्यस्सन्तु गावो भवतु वसुमती सर्वसम्पन्नसस्या
पर्जन्यः कालवर्षी सकलजनमनोनन्दिनो वान्तु वाताः ।
मोदन्तां जन्मभाजः सततमभिमता ब्राह्मणास्सन्तु सन्त
श्रीमन्तः पान्तु पृथ्वीं प्रशमितरिपवो धर्मनिष्ठाश्च भूपाः ॥

13 मालतीमाधव :—शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतां परहितनिरता भवन्तु भूतगणाः ।
दोषाः प्रयान्तु शान्तिं सर्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः ॥

नागानन्द :—वृष्टिं हृष्टशिखण्डिताण्डवकृते मुञ्चन्तु कालेऽम्बुदाः
कुर्वन्तु प्रतिरूढसन्ततहरिच्छस्योत्तरीयां क्षितिम् ।
चिन्वानाः सुकृतानि वीतविपदो निर्मत्सरैर्मानसै-
र्मोदन्तां सततं च बान्धवसुहृद्गोष्ठीप्रमोदाः प्रजाः ॥

विक्रमोर्वशीय :—परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।
सङ्गतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेऽस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

14 म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः ।

15 The last word अग्निमित्रे

Bharatavākya it is the reigning king that is mentioned without giving his name as in the *Mrcchakaṭika* and the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*[16] or by actual mention of his name as in the *Mudrārākṣasa*,[17] then it is not unnatural to presume that the name Agnimitra mentioned in the Bharatavākya of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is also the name of the reigning king. Agnimitra is also the hero and since we do not know of any other king named Agnimitra who could be the contemporary and patron of Kālidāsa, the most reasonable position will be to assume that in this drama, the hero is the reigning king himself, namely, Agnimitra, in whose time and under whose patronage Kālidāsa flourished.

Apart from the mention of the hero as the reigning king in the Bharatavākya, this last verse in the drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, is unique in other ways. This last verse in the drama is not really a Bharatavākya, it simply says in the second half that the drama has no Bharatavākya.[18] The first half is a part of the story.[19] In all the dramas, the story ends before the last verse, called the Bharatavākya. If there are two verses in the end, the first is a part of the story and the second is outside the story.[20] Here the first half of the verse is a part of the story, being the words of the hero to his first consort. Then in the second half, the actor who took the part of the hero announces to the audience (and this is outside the story) that the usual benediction which is expected at that stage (āśāsyam) is unnecessary and hence cancelled, in so far as there is nothing to be prayed for when Agnimitra was reigning over the kingdom. Thus what we are considering is not the Bharatavākya of the drama, but rather the absence of a Bharatavākya in the drama.

The only major objection to accepting Agnimitra, the hero of the drama, as also a contemporary of Kālidāsa is that no poet could have portrayed a reigning king in such unfavourable colours. I have discussed the problem of the character of Agnimitra in the drama in a paper which will appear in the Silver Jubilee Number of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona. There I have shown that Agnimitra

16 धर्मनिष्ठाश्च भूपाः in *Mrcchakaṭika* and अवनिमवनिपाला. पान्तु in *Veṇīsaṁhāra*

17 पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः

18 आशास्यमीतिविगमप्रभृति प्रजाना सम्पत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे ।

19 त्वम्मे प्रसादसुमुखी भव चण्डि नित्यमेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपक्षहेतोः ।

20 This is the case in *Mrcchakaṭika* Nāgānanda etc

is the great hero of Kālidāsa and that the usual judgment about his character does scant justice to the great poet I have also explained there that Kālidāsa had Agnimitra in mind when he described Raghu and Kumāra in his two great epics

As we know from the drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Agnimitra had his capital at Vidiśā, during the life-time of his father Pusyamitra. There is no record to show that Vidiśā was at any other time a great imperial capital In the Meghasandeśa Vidiśā is mentioned दिक्षु प्रथितविदिशालक्षणा राजधानीम्[21] "Vidiśā, the imperial capital famed in all the quarters" This description is more appropriate at the time of Agnimitra than at any other time. Those who have taken note of this point find it necessary to offer some explanation[22] since they cannot get away from the idea of Kālidāsa being a contemporary of Vikramāditya and from the consequent need to put Kālidāsa at about 56 B C, i e about a century after the time of Agnimitra

By the side of this description of Vidiśā as the great imperial capital, one must read the description of the city Ujjayinī in the Meghasandeśa Though there are many verses[23] devoted to the description, there is not a mention of the palace or of the emperor There is the mention of the river,[24] of the temple,[25] of the streets,[26] of the house,[27] of the handsome damsels[28] and of many things. It is described as everything except an imperial capital This looks rather improbable, by the side of the description of Vidiśā, if this short poem were written by Kālidāsa under the patronage of the great Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.

Scholars speak of the partiality of Kālidāsa for Ujjayinī in so far as he wants the cloud, though on an urgent mission, to go out of his direct route

21 Meghasandeśa, I-24

22 *Nagpur University Journal* vol V, Paper on Kālidāsa by I J Kedar

23 Meghasandeśa, I-30 to 38

24 शिप्रावातः in Meghasandeśa I-31 and गन्धवत्याः in Meghasandeśa I-33

25 महाकालमासाद्य in Meghasandeśa I 34 This and the next two verses refer to the temple

26 नरपतिपथे in Meghasandeśa, I-37

27 हर्म्येष्वस्याः in Meghasandeśa, I-32 and भवनवलभौ in Meghasandeśa, I-38

28 यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति in Meghasandeśa, I-31, ललितवनितापादरागाङ्कितेषु in Meghasandeśa, I-32, तोयक्रीडानिरतयुवतिस्नानतिक्तैः in Meghasandeśa, I-33, वेश्याः in Meghansandeśa, I-35, योषितां in Meghasandeśa, I-37

to see Ujjayinī.[29] But few people have stopped to think why Kālidāsa took the cloud first to Vidiśā and then westward to Ujjayinī. If Kālidāsa was so partial to Ujjayinī, he could have taken the cloud straight away to Ujjayinī That shows his very great partiality to the great imperial capital of his time, namely, Vidiśā Kālidāsa could not think of anything else for one starting from Rāmagiri and proceeding northwards than first to go to Vidiśā, then he directs the cloud to visit Ujjayinī also In so far as Vidiśā is the scene of one of his dramas,[30] he did not describe the city in this poem But Ujjayinī, the city of historical importance he had to describe in detail, since that is not the scene of any other work of his

This great partiality for Vidiśā justifies the assumption that Kālidāsa lived at a time when Vidiśā was a great imperial capital and that is only it the time when Agnimitra had his Court there

In the *Raghuvamśa* we can see a clear allegorical representation of the decay in India under the later Mauryan kings, the revival of religion by Pusyamitra and the birth of his great son who founded a new dynasty and who consolidated the empire that had broken up. One cannot miss a close resemblance between Dilīpa and Pusyamitra. Both were religiously minded Dilīpa, the representative of kingship in India, is informed by his Teacher that the continuity of kingship was about to be broken on account of the sins committed towards Kāmadhenu

ईप्सितं तदवज्ञानाद्विद्धि सार्गलमात्मनः ।
प्रतिबध्नाति हि श्रेयः पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः[31] ॥

"There is this obstacle to your desires on account of the want of respect shown to her Know you thus Indeed, departure from showing respect to those who deserve respect obstructs prosperity" Dilīpa performs penances, he is blessed with a son The very fact that he prefaces the mention of the dynasty of Raghu with sixteen royal virtues[32] that adorned the kings, indicates that he had in mind some kings who were not what the kings of the Raghu dynasty were

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we know that Pusyamitra had performed a great sacrifice, that he entrusted his grandson, Vasumitra with the responsibility of protecting the sacrificial horse, that the Yavanas attacked the

29 वक्रः पन्था यदपि Meghasandeśa, I-37

30 *Mālavikāgnimitra*

31 *Raghuvamśa*, I-79.

32 In four verses, namely *Raghuvamśa*, I-5 to 8

horse on the banks of the Sindhu, that the boy hero defeated the Yavanas and recovered the horse and that Puṣyamitra performed the sacrifice with that horse.[33] The incidents narrated in the third Canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* are closely similar to these historical facts. Indra steals the sacrificial horse of Dilīpa, Dilīpa sends his son Raghu who was then a mere boy, to recover the horse, Raghu fights with Indra and returns with victory.[34]

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it is Puṣyamitra's son who marries the sister of the king of Vidarbha In the *Raghuvamśa* it is Dilīpa's grandson who marries the sister of the Vidarbha king. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* it is Dilīpa's son who recovers the sacrificial horse that was stolen while in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it is Pusyamitra's grandson who performs this feat. Both were mere boys and great heros The agreement is far greater than the minor difference.

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, it is found that Agnimitra had conquered Vidarbha and had sway over that area. He could decide about the succession to the throne and he could practically dictate his terms to the Vidarbha king In the *Raghuvamśa*, it is found that the conquests of Raghu extended upto the southern extremity of India This may be an exaggerated description of the conquests of Agnimitra Even the Mauryan empire did not extend to the extreme south of India

According to Kālidāsa, Pusyamitra was not the emperor. He is styled Senādhipati in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, though he performs the sacrifice From the fact that even at the time of Pusyamitra, it is Agnimitra who is styled Rājā, it may be concluded that according to Kālidāsa Agnimitra was the first real king after the revival of religious life in India And

33 The whole incident is mentioned in the letter of Pusyamitra to Agnimitra, which runs as follows यज्ञशरणात् सेनापतिः पुष्यमित्रो वैदिशस्थं पुत्रमायुष्मन्तमग्निमित्रं स्नेहात परिष्वज्यानुदर्शयति। विदितमस्तु। योऽसौ राजसूयदीक्षितेन मया राजपुत्रशत-परिवृतं गोप्तारं वसुमित्रमादिश्य संवत्सरोपावर्तनीयो निरर्गलस्तुरगो विसृष्टः स सिन्धो-र्दक्षिणे रोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनानां प्रार्थितः। तत उभयोस्सेनयोर्महानासीत् सन्दर्भः।

ततः परान् पराजित्य वसुमित्रेण धन्विना।
प्रसह्य ह्रियमाणो मे वाजिराजो निवर्तितः॥

सोऽहमिदानीं अंशुमतेव सगरः पौत्रेण प्रत्याहृताश्वो यक्ष्ये। तदिदानीमकालहीनं विगतरोष-चेतसा भवता वधूजनेन सह यज्ञसेवनायागन्तव्यम्।

34 *Raghuvamśa*, III-38 to 67

in *Raghuvaṁśa* also, the dynasty is called after Raghu and not after Dilīpa. There is some parallel between these two facts.

Raghu proceeds from Aparānta to Pārasīka by the land route,[35] and the implication is that the sea-route is also available, perhaps as a shorter route and the common route Unless Kālidāsa wanted to give this implication there is no need to specify that Raghu proceeded by land. In Pārasīka he met the Yavanas Although it is not specifically stated that he fought with the Yavanas in the Pārasīka country, there is the mention of Yavana women in that country [36] In Kerala he speaks about Kerala women,[37] in the country of the Hūnas, he speaks about the Hūṇa women [38] Why should he speak about Yavana women in Pārasīka unless at the time of Kālidāsa, Pārasīka was a Yavana kingdom? Pārasīka was a Yavana kingdom at the time of Agnimitra The Greek empire in Asia collapsed some time after Agnimitra.

From Pārasika, Raghu proceeded northwards[39] and reached the Sindhu [40] Sindhu may mean only a river or we may accept the variant Vankṣu and identify it with Oxus Anyway Raghu reached a river to the north of Pārasīka and there he met the Hūnas This suggests that Kālidāsa wrote the *Raghuvamśa* before the Huns crossed the Oxus and came to India. This is evidence for an earlier date for Kālidāsa rather than for a later date

When the *Raghuvamśa* is closely studied, it is found that when Kālidāsa described Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja, he had Pusyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra in his mind Aja, though a great hero, is of a soft nature. From the *Harsacarita* of Bāna we find that Sumitra (perhaps a mistake for Vasumitra), son of Agnimitra, was fond of dramas [41] The reference may be to the same Vasumitra mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*

35 पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना *Raghuvamśa*, IV-60

36 यवनीमुखपद्मानाम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-61

37 भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां, तत्र केरलयोषिताम् *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-54

38 तत्र हूणावरोधानाम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-68

39 ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-66

40 सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः *Raghuvamśa*, IV-67

41 अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेव *Harsacarita*, VI Ucchvāsa

No conquest by an Indian king of a later day extends so far to the west as is found in the conquests of Raghu And we know from history that the empire of Candragupta Maurya extended to Persia. If Kālidāsa lived at a time not far removed from the glorious days of the Mauryan empire, he must have heard of its extent, and in Raghu's conquests, he might have given a (perhaps exaggerated) description of how Agnimitra revived the entire glory of the Mauryan empire even in its extent It is not the empire of Samudragupta nor of Yaśovarman that Kalidāsa could have had in mind when he described the conquests of Raghu, it is the empire of Candragupta Maurya that was his original, if at all he had some historical original for his description. He might have written the great epic to inspire the king and the nation with a sense of the lost glory of the Mauryan empire with a desire to revive the greatness, to restore the vast empire, to reconsolidate the dismembered empire He could not have written the poem for the pleasure of a Vikramāditya, he could have written it only to give inspiration and courage to a nation that had fallen into unhappy days after a long glorious past The unification of India, the restoration of religion and piety into national life as a necessary preliminary to the revival of the decaying civilization and the waning power, the stirring up of a spirit of patriotism—these must have been the purpose (if a poet has a purpose at all) that moved Kālidāsa to write the epic poem

In the *Kumārasambhava* also, one can see, if one looks carefully, the same idea that is found in the *Raghuvamśa*, namely the great empire built up by Candragupta, extending far beyond the modern India, its destruction, the decay and corruption in national life, the divorce of religion and piety from the life of the people, consequent foreign domination and oppression, the nation's penance and united call through the person of king Pusyamitra to the great God to be reunited to the country and her affairs, the final union of the Divine with the life of the country, the birth of Agnimitra, the great national hero, as the result of this union, the restoration of the country from foreign domination and oppression by this hero and the enjoyment by the country of freedom and prosperity The political allegory of the *Kumārasambhava* will be dealt with in greater detail in another paper Here I have simply given the general outline

C KUNHAN RAJA

The earliest Phases of the Company's Indigo Trade

The dyeing demands of Europe and also to a certain extent of Asia, compelled the Company to take an eager interest in indigo during the earlier half of the 17th century Even in the 16th century the English used to obtain it from the Portuguese John Nieuhoff says, by the middle of the 17th century, "Anil or Indigo (was) first of all transported (into Brasil) by the Portugueses from the Canary Islands" English trade in this commodity through Aleppo was also developed by this time. Attempts to grow it in England were also made

Burma where "they use to pricke the skinne and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes", apparently demanded some indigo. Samarkhand, Kashgar and other contiguous countries, as well as India consumed indigo even in the early 17th century Arabia and Iran also furnished attractive markets to the Company, at this time.

Dr Balkrishna says, "India continued to enjoy the monopoly" (of supplying indigo) 'till the middle of the seventeenth century" It may be however noted here that Ceylon indigo was of European commercial interest certainly earlier than 1638 One of the clauses in the Treaty concluded between the Dutch and Rājasimha of Simhala in 1638, lays down that the "service(s)" which the armed forces of the (Dutch) United Chartered East India Company were to tender to ' His Majesty's lands of Ceylon shall be recouped by His Majesty in cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, indigo, wax, rice and other valuable products of his country" Maetsukyer says that it was "found growing in a wild state in the seven Corles", in 1650 "Ten ware den indigo ', he says, "die in de 7 Corles in't wilt te wassen gevonden wort".

He however adds, "We, for our part, have attached little importance to the latter (indigo), the less that, although it could easily be manufactured, we should have to do it all through our own people, which would perhaps cost the Company not less than what the indigo could be procured for in other places, (wellicht niet minder soude komen te kosten, dan den indigo op andere plaetsen ingekost wort) so that we may reap only a small profit thereby". But there were hopes. "The samples recently sent us by the Opper koopman Adriaen Van der Meyden from

Negombo (about twenty miles from the modern capital) are somewhat better than the earlier although they do not include a finished specimen".

According to Nieuhoff, "in the year 1642 one Gillin Venant brought some indigo-seed from the American islands into Brasil" "The Indigo" after some effort "came to its full Perfection, several Patterns of which were sent into Holland" "The wild Aniel" also grew "in Brasil in great plenty"

Baldaeus points out, "It is sowed in several Places about Agra; in Fettapour, 12 Cos from Agra, near the City of Byana, 30 Cos from Agra (where is the best), near the City of Bassaune, 38 Cos from Agra, near the City of Kindowen, 40 Cos from Agra" "The broad indigo" "grows about two Leagues from Amadabath, the Capital City of Gusuratte, specially in the Village of Circhees". "Among those Commodities which are transported from Masulipatam, the Indigo (is) none of the least". He adds that several varieties were available for exportation "The Indigo Laura" or "Indigo de Bayana" is said to be the first crop "of three different sorts", "is call'd Vouthy", "the second Gerry, and the third Catteel 'The chief Signs of the goodness of the Indigo are, its Lightness and feeling dry betwixt the Fingers, its swimming upon the Water, and, if thrown upon burning Coals, its emitting a Violet-colour'd Smoke, and leaving but little Ashes behind" Among others, Elkington (in his letter of 31st December, 1614) similarly speaks of various kinds of indigo, and their purchase prices

Baldaeus also says, "Hereabouts (in south India and Ceylon?) also grows the Indigo call'd Aniel de Biant by those of Gusuratte" The translator's marginal note says, though later on, "Good indigo is also made in Coromandel".

When Oxwicke and Farewell were trying to purchase indigo at Broach Aldworth advised them not to buy "that which will not swim"

Finch writes that roundabout "Cickell (Sarkhej)" "in a towne 4c from Amadavar", "nill" was "made" This was however not "so good as that of Biana' Another variety was "called cole, of a grosse sort". "Some three courses from Amadavar", says Withington, "is the chiefe place (Sarkhej) where they make theire flatte indico, and there wee spente twoe or three dayes in seeing the makinge thereof" [1]

1 Nieuhoff's *Remarkable Voyages and Travels to Brasil;* Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England*, Khan, *The East India Trade in the XVII century*, Fitch's account in Hakluyt, Foster etc, Finch's narrative in *Purchas* Foster etc, Office copy of the Dutch treaty in the Government Archives

"Indicoe Byana" (carried by the Royal Anne to England) as distinct from indigo dust which is not priced at all in the list, cost the Old Joint Stock about 78 25 mahmudís a maund of 23½ seers, by 1619, 1882 maunds (of 24 seers) "Indico Serquese" cost 75,981 mahmudís and 15 pice, while 15 "small maunds" of the same commodity were rated at little over 645 mahmudís, lower down in the list 12 churls of "indicoe Jambasar" (in Broach) conveyed by the Lion, was purchased at 1,132 mahmudís and 10½ pice. The prices of the Sarkhej and Biana varieties are referred to later on, (for example) in the letter to Methwold and others dated 26th. August, 1619, and samples sent from Masulipatam are praised highly. In 1621, we however find that "Jambuzar indico, in England is valued (as it is) nought and not worth the fraught whome". Jambusar and Sarkhej indigoes are distinguished in Martin's letter from Broach, of 12th October, 1621 Bickford and others again wrote from Sarkhej twelve days later that the Jambusar indigo was not to "be medeled withall, it not being worth the carriage home" The Company had forbidden its exportation to England

Indigo was sold at this time near Ahmadabad in "squar baskets (which were) not made all of one bignesse" Another difficulty in the way of accurately indicating the weight of a bale lay in the fact that "all indicoe fills not alike".

Malynes in his *Lex Mercatoria* says that there were two sorts of indigo, "Carquez" (22d a lb) and "Aldeas' (18d. a lb)

In the "*Note of Merchandise and commodities in the St Salvador and St John" of August, 1602*, we find "pepper, cinnamon, cloves, indigo, silks, calicoes, ginger, wax", "ambergris, pearls" etc , arriving at Lisbon "The lading of four ships of the East India-for Lisbon" (in 1603) included indigo, spices, gems, cotton goods and silk.

In 1604, the Turkey Merchants complained that the direct importation of indigo spices, silks and other commodities from the East resulted in damage to their Levant trade

Finch who says in 1609 "that the Portingals are still the fundamental cause of all our losses", was desirous "that against the next year we might have our whole stock employed in rich indigo with some other drugs there

(Ceylon), Instructive voot D E Heer Jacob van Kittensteyn" etc , Baldaeus, A True and Exact Description of Malabar and Coromandel as also of the Isle of Ceylon" etc, O C, (II) 223, Withington's account in *Purchas*, "A journey over Land "etc , and Foster etc

(at Cambaya) to be had for our shipping" "I would be glad", he adds, "to do anything for the good of our right worshipful Company". He also says that he "was sent to buy nill or indigo at Byana in November, 1610" "The country which affordeth that rich nill which takes name of Byana is not above twentie or thirtie cosc long". Biana in Bharatapura lies about fifty miles away from Agra By the beginning of the seventeenth century the town was "ruinate, save two sarayes and a long bazar, with a few stragling houses" Next year, Finch "departed from Agra for Lahor and carried twelve carts laden with nil in hope of a good price".

"This herbe, being cut the moneth of aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be covered, which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water They let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the middest of which is another small cisterne or center, this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe, then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare waters, doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine, which they take foorth and spread on cloth to dry in the sunne, and being a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay then on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour), this is the cause of the sandy foot So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called Aliad"

"Some deceitfully will take of the herbs of all three crops and steepe them all together, hard to be discerned, very knavishly Fowre things are required in nill a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water or burning in the fire it cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes"

A merchant named Ferdinando Cotton wrote to the Company in November, 1612, "The Trade hath above 1000 churls of indigo, good store of silk, some cinnamon, the Hector hath indigo, aloes, cloves, pepper". The earlier Court Minutes refer to the sale of indigo not at all infrequently. Floris bought some indigo and cotton yarn at Masulipatam in 1614, and expected to reap a profit of "six or seven for one" Surat says on 19th August of the same year that Indigo, cotton goods, sugar and green ginger were some of "the chief English commodities in Surat". The availability of indigo and cotton yarn at Masulipatam is also referred to in the same document.

By the end of that year we find Surat regarding it (and cotton goods, yarn etc) as 'fit to be reladen for England". Edwardes writing from Ahmedabad, a little later, regards it as a very lucrative article of merchandise "more profitable than any other commodity from those parts", while Preston says on 17th December that it was found abundantly in the Ahmedabad market and was cheap in price John Sanderofte from that town quoted the price to the Company, and pointed out that there was enough of it "to lade three or four ships" Purchases of indigo at Ahmedabad are referred to by Aldworthe on 28th February, by Sanderofte on 1st March, and Dodsworth on 5th November 1615 An attempt to procure it there by Browne was delayed (according to his letter of 10th February, 1618), because of want of money.

A document of 29th December 1614 refers to its availability at "Baroach", the method of purchase and of packing it for transportation abroad Preston writes from Ahmedabad to the Company on 1st January, 1615 that there was another market of indigo at Lahore which vied with that of Ahmedabad Hawkins refers to Nicholas Ufflet being at "Lahor with a remainder of indigo that was in William Finches power" By the middle of that year, the Hope with a cargo of indigo left for Europe

Roe is requested to get musters from Agra in 1616 His letter to Sultan Caronne (Khurram) of the same year sums up the English case to the Mughul thus —"Our kingdom is naturally the most fructfull in Europe and the most abundant in all sorts of armes, cloth, and what soever is necessary for mans use besides which, your Highnes I suppose knowes not wee yeerly bring into your port in ready mony 50,000 rialls of eight, for which wee only carry away callicoes and indigoes, to the enriching of your Highness kingdomes with silver" Moreover, "for curious and rare toyes, we have better meanes to furnish Your Highnes then any other, our kingdome abounding with all arts and our shipping trading into all the world, whereby there is nothing under the sunne which wee are not able to bring, if we knew Your Highnes pleasure, what you did most affect" Writing two years later, to Kerridge at Surat, he advises against submitting to Portuguese dictation in this matter "Yf they misenforme not from Mesolapatan, ther is great store of indico shipt at some ports to the sowth, all which take curtaasses (passes) of our enemies and pay them duties for licence as lords of the sea' Quasi-privateering was the weapon to be used to achieve their objective The justification for this action, probably to

be regarded as shady, according to our twentieth century ideas, was a simple one. "If wee doe it not, the Dutch will".[2]

In the years that immediately follow, English interest in the merchandise continues unabated. In February, 1619, 278 fardles were sent from Agra to Surat through John Bangham. But next month, Surat urges Agra to buy more. It was then selling in the "aldeas" about Agra, at 24 to 25 rupees a mana.

On 17th March Surat wrote two letters, one to Broach referring to the buying of cardamoms and the other to Ahmadabad mentioning that all the cash in the hands of the Agra factors was spent on procuring the indigo referred to above. The prices at the time seem to have warranted a restriction of purchases at Ahmadabad.

By this time, Surat writes to the Company "Your Agra caphila in theire comminge downe weare sett uppon by theeves on the way some 22 dayes jurney hence thatt tooke from them 14 churles Byana indico and killed four or five servantes thatt attended itt." Bangham wrote from Gwalior on 25th February, 1619, "I am sorye to heare of John Younges disaster etc., yett am in good hope of better sucksess, which God graunt." The truth seems to be that Young who was in charge of the qāfila refused to pay the "custom or radaree, whereof it seems demand was made," and thereupon the toll-guard slew his escort and plundered the caravan.

We may note here that indigo at this time was usually sold by the 'churle', 'bundle' or 'fardle'. This unit was of two kinds,—one of about five *manas*, and the other of about four. Leachland of Ahmadabad, for example, refers to a proposed sale of indigo, at "50 rupes per fardle of four mands and 7 seares", by a broker who is said to be 'a sutelle knave'.

Another caravan from Agra of 1,600 camels was detained at Chopra about 60 miles from Burhanpur ("some thirty course on this side Bramporc") shortly afterwards at the instigation of a Portuguese jeweller named Francisco Soares, by that neast of rouges'. The mischief was done, according to Biddulph, "per one Condye Suffer, Armenian, who Francisco

2 Brit Mus Egerton Ms 2122, f 1, f 124, 2123, f 77, 2123, f 82, f 101 Cal St Papers Col series etc 1513-1616, 309, 327 etc, Domestic Corresp Jac I, Vol X, no 27, OC 10, Letters Received I, OC, 90, Ct Bk III, C S P 737, 763, 776 etc., OC 213, 194a, 215, 187, 258, Eng Factories 1618-21 etc, OC, 609 (written on paper of Indian make), OC, (II) 221, 224, OC, (III) 289, Hawkins in *Purchas*, Foster etc, Addl Ms 6115, f 96, Foster *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, OC, 612, etc

Swaryes, Portingall, lefte there at his departure for Decann, as his procurador to follow this busynes to stay the English goods". In fact, (Nicholas) Bangham and Sprage, two English factors, had defrauded the Portuguese merchant of the sale proceeds of some "cheyne ware etc."

The English petitioned Mírzá Abdul Rahím (son of Akbar's guardian, Bairám Khán) the then Khánkhánán, to obtain redress for their three grievances—arrest of the qáfila, imprisonment of Sprage and plundering of indigo. Their agent conscious of their nation's sea-power bearded the lion in his den, and after some discussion, told him that reprisals might follow. "When I saw noe hope of present release of the goods, I tould him that everye yeare our shipps did guard the Princes and merchants shipps to and from the Red Sea againe to Suratt, and therefore doubted not but wee should finde justice one waye or other." The Mughul however was too cultured to brag. He replied with dignity that he "had noe shipps now, yf met with any of his, bid us take them, yf tooke the King or Princes, must give answere to them, who would strictly requite it of us." But the historian cannot but note that previous English quasi-privateerings must have made the Khánkhánán know that the threat was no idle one. We thus come across the link between English quasi-privateering and expansion of the Company's trading activities, once again. In any case, after receipt of the Prince's instructions, he "gave presente order for a full restitucion without further delay or question." The English loss in indigo was to be made good, and a "quiett and secure passage" was to be given to them through any part of the region under his government.

In October, 1623, we find the English enumerating this grievance to the Hakím of the Mughal along with other "wrongs, oppressions, losses, and hindrances sustained by the English nation liveing under the protection and tiranous government of Sultan Choron and his officers". The entry runs thus:—'For 14 churles of Biana indigo taken away by force in anno 1618 out of the Agra caphilo brought downe by John Young in the gagere of Shanawes Chon which at mns 4½ of 30 pice weight the seare per churle is mns 63, the same at rup. 35 per maun is rup. 2,205 which at M. 2¼ per peece amounts to the some of M. 4,961.8"

In addition to prejudicial interferences by Mughul officers there were also the vagaries of the weather to be contended with by the English trader in indigo. Owing to "such unaccustomed raynes (which) hath drowned the greatest parte of new indicoe in the countryes", it was perceived by the

middle of 1621 that its price would go up. About two weeks later, Agra wrote, "By report this hundred yeares there hath not bin such extremitie of raynes, insoe much that most parte of the new indicoe drowned and the old much impaired."

But by November, Surat managed to make "200 bales Biana indico and 9,000 maunes Serques", "ready for imbaling" in ships proceeding to England. In 1622, indigo was very dear. As it formed the principal commodity to be purchased at Agra, even the dissolution of the factory there, it is pointed out, might be recommended, on account of the high price. A rumour that the English wanted to make large purchases of indigo made its price soar up higher. Halstead and others at Ahmadabad however expected on 12th September, to be able to buy more than 100 fardles. But about a week later, Halstead died, and the "Cutwall ... seased up all our moneys, goods and clothes, beginninge with the deceased and soe proceeded with us all, nott leavinge one ragge to shift us, not bedd or coate to lye on". He also "choptt (i.e. put the official chāp on) all our bookes of accompts, wrytinge and chambers, and taken possession of all". Probably the Englishmen offered some resistance because the police officers are also said to have "disgracefully beate us and would have carryed us bound to the bassar (market place) and there inflickted further punnishmentt uppon us, but by meanes of a brybe wee stoppte their furey". The English had just bought an "additional" 136 fardles of indigo. Here is therefore another example of the kind of interference by Indian authorities which served as a deterrent to the Company's (indigo) trade. On 10th December, Surat says that "the London, Jonas and Lyon now richlye laden with clothing, silke and indicoe, with above 8,000 mauns of pepper ... shott into hould amongst the churlges (of indigo) and now about the 15th or 20th present shall with Gods permition sett sayle togeather for" Europe. Early next year, Surat was informed by Ahmadabad of the purchase of 8,000 manas of indigo, 7,000 at Sarkhej, and the rest at Ahmadabad.

Heynes and Parker again report from Ahmadabad a few days later that they were sending 671 packages of indigo and cotton goods after having finished their Dholka purchases. The indigo sent, weighed 4,784 manas. Almost an equal quantity was to follow. But 35,500 rupees more were to be sent them to meet their obligations. 'Mamootte Tuckey' was urging them to buy Dholka (indigo) of which the Dutch were reported to have purchased 500 units. But Surat vetoed the idea and Mahmúd Taqí

was naturally sad over it He was the Díwán of Ahmadabad, and an adherent of Sháh Jahán He probably found means to get the local English agents on his side But in their instructions dated 25th March, Surat remained firm, and declined to buy from him On 3rd April, we are told, Taqí got his indigo down to Ahmadabad, and the merchants selling indigo were forbidden not to sell any, till Taqí has succeeded in disposing of his Negotiations were however at last opened with Taqí He wanted cash down, at the rate of Rs 40/- a bale for his 371 packages The new and coarse indigo could be bought at that time for Rs 7½ to 8 per mana "Above 100 bales of indicoe (which was) to winter with (some) silke at Mocho" were made ready by Surat, early in 1623, for shipment to England We also find Offley at Broach reporting to Rastell on 22nd October, 1623 that all the indigo was sent that very day Leachland writing to Surat by the end of that year says that he contracted for about 1,200 churles, and was negotiating for 2,500 more Some indigo was also bought at Cambay by the same time Between 1624 and 1629 the dyeing industries of Europe went on consuming indigo eagerly, and English merchants showed themselves keen to purchase Biana in preference to Sarkhej It was ordered from home that 33% of the Company's imports must be Biana On 15th November 1624 Swally however asked the Company to reconsider its decision pointing out that Biana cost a third more

Again on 4th February, 1625, they point out that (flat) Sarkhej was available at Rs 12/- a mana while (round) Biana was 27 to 32 rupees 'that maund' The difference in the English prices of the two commodities were not in ratio to their Asiatic costs They bought some Sarkhej, but could not buy any Biana for want of funds

By the end of 1627, the Dutch are said to be purchasing indigo 'without feare or witt", and pushing up prices In three weeks' time, the English at Agra had however succeeded in procuring inspite of Dutch opposition about 200 units at 32 5 to 35 rupees, a mana There was some more available, but neither of the European nations had any cash to buy it with The Asiatic refused credit to both By March, Sarkhej (new) was available at 12 75 to 14 25 Rs a mana

Sarkhej continues to be bought (for example, by Boothby) by 1630 The Dutch by their huge purchases put the price up, thus inconveniencing the English factors 'Synda soliciteth us to settle a factory there', wrote

Wylde in 1629, "which we meane to attempt, having sent thither a broker to bring us musters of all comoditys there". The same record also mentions that a supply of cinnamon had already been sent to Europe, that the Agra indigo was 300% dearer than Sarkhej, and that indigo was purchased at Ajmira In pursuance of the plan to settle the new factory "we sent" "our broker to Sindee" He "is at last againe returned after much trouble and danger uppon the way, having been detained upward of 8 months, by reason of warrs and differences betweene the Rajaes through whose country hee was to passe" Again we come across an instance of a local war deterring the growth of indigo trade Out of his samples, "two bales of indicoe with sundry musters of white cloth we send you uppon (some) ships, if they shall be found useful in England and beneficiall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place your worships may determine, and we shall endeavour its performance". But Rastell's letter of 6th October (1630) points out that there occurred another of those famines which interfered with growth of indigo He (and his Council) consequently refrained from instructing Ahmadabad to buy On the last day of that year Surat wrote, "Many buyers as well Dutch as Persians, Armenians, etc having furnished themselves with the choycest ware (of the passed yeares growth) at excessive high rates, there" remained little room for making profitable purchases Even indigo of very poor quality could not be purchased at less than 18 Rs a mana In the country "about Amadabad this yeares whole cropp on the ground is not likely to produce above two or three hundred fardles, which in former tymes hath not been soe little as 4 or 5,000" The Company had asked Surat to buy more 'indicoe' and less 'callicoe' But these instructions could not under these circumstances be possibly obeyed They promised however ship some Biana

The S'Gravenhage (Dutch) was carving 886 churls of indigo and her consort 800 churls, of the same in 1632 By the end of that year, Cirqueze and Amadabad went up in price, till the same level as that of Agra and Biana was reached.

A record from Agra, dated 12th November 1633 estimates that the annual indigo output of the region round Agra came to 15,000 manas Of this 33% was Biana The indigo made at "Coaria, Coule" and "Jellaly" (of Aligad tahsil?) was not so good

The emperor had farmed the whole produce to Manoharadāsa Danda The transliteration of the name as given by Foster is wrong

It is said that Mír Muhammad Amin (Mír Jumla) had pulled wires from behind the scene He "did not onely cherish but hatch it (the plan of granting a monopoly) for his owne advantage, because (one year) he had sent for his owne accompt 1,200 fs of indico into Persia overland"

The English therefore thought of allying with the Dutch and refusing to buy any of the dyeing stuff, so that the Indian Government might be induced to reconsider its decision A draft agreement was actually drawn up and discussed, on 15th November, 1633, while a scale of prices at which both nations were prepared to buy, was formulated It was proposed to the Dutch that 42 rupees were to be paid for every Akbari mana of old, and 38 for that of new Biana, while a Surat mana of Sarkhej was not to be bought at any price exceeding eighteen rupees The Dutch agreed

The alternative suggestion that the English themselves should undertake to farm the supply was however considered to be undesirable for more than one reason

The 'solemne contract consisting of 13 distinct articles was however, the English complained, evaded in practice by the Dutch At an excessive price their chief at Agra bought a large quantity from the Hindu merchant, just before the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch agreement 'After all this projecting', says the disappointed President Methwold on 2nd January 1634, "these designes are now crossed by the proceedings of the Dutch, who came this day and with some shew of sorrow presented to this Councell their principal factors letter from Agra, advertizing that he hath (as it seemes upon some former orders sent him long before the knowledge of any treaty) bought a percell of 1,500 fardles, amounting to 6,000 maen of Byana indicoe at 61 rupees the maen'

Captain Richard Allnutt reports that brokers told him that the perfidious Dutch had even declared their readiness to purchase all the indigo at a fixed rate, provided the English were not allowed to procure any This promise (according to his version) induced the Indian Government to establish a monopoly.

The impartial historian must however point out in the same breath that according to the Governor of Surat "Mr Hopkinson (had) made an overture unto him of a contract for indicoe, in imitation of the contracts in Persia", 'Mezer Mulck' (Mír Músá Muizz-ul-Mulk, the Governor was induced by this suggestion to become "the first projectour of this business (granting of a monopoly) unto the king"

It must also be remembered that according to the version of the English themselves, the Dutch 'punctually observed' the indigo contract "after it was knowne The mishapp fell out but few daies before, and if it had not so falne out, wee had bene undoubtedly free of this incombrance before this tyme."

Fremlen at Agra however foolishly contracted to purchase a considerable quantity from the Dutch, much to the annoyance of Surat which was preparing itself to smile in its sleeves at the locking up of a large Dutch capital by the highly priced indigo "Mr Fremlen much against ther (of the Indian broker) advise," says Methwold, "had most improvidently bought 3,000 (2,000) md. Ecobaer of Byana indicoe at 64 rups per md"[3]

There was perhaps some consolation to the English in India in the thought that the hated Dutch were not themselves doing too well in the indigo business 'The Dutch Generall and Councell' had written that they had been able to sell their Sarkhej for 40 'styvers', and their Biana only at an actually lower than Sarkhej rate—35 'styvers'

But English trade, it could not be denied, was hit very hard, indeed "Agra hath proved like that curst cowe which hath given a good soope of milck and kickt it downe with her heele" Moreover the indigo in one of their caravans was drenched with rain between Viara and Bardoli by this time The Company's factors could not possibly (they pointed out in desperation) "struggle with monopolises that are backt from the treasury of one of the richest monarchs in the world" But they could not at the same time fail to appreciate their employers' standpoint that indigo was "the prime or principall commodity of all others" Prospects of obtaining cheap supplies were however remote "The little which you will receive now," they add, "you will receive too much" 543 bales Biana had to be purchased at 61 rupees a mana, and in consequence, all the cash in hand was spent, and more had to be borrowed The silver lining was however appearing "Mezer Mulck" "subtilly forseeing the ruyne of our trade, which in the deadness of these tymes depending wholy upon indicoe and, that shut up from us under these hard conditions, wee could not continue long here, from whence must needs ensue the ruyne also of his port at least,

3 F R Mis XXIV, B M F Ms 2122, f 64, f 1, f 138, f 66, O C, 831, B M F Ms 2123 ff 54, 70, 134, 141, 143, 142, F R Java, III, pt 1, F R Mis I, O C, 1169, 1180, 1291, Surat Factory outward letter book I, O C, 1335, 1442, F R Sur I, cit Hague Transcripts I, IX, nos 305, 306 and 313, O C 1543A, 1518, 1519

if no worse events," approached the Imperial Government "for a totall inlargement or some such relaxation at least as might concerne us or the Dutch nation" A compromise suggested by the Central Government was however unacceptable to the English They again say in this letter that indigo was "the sole merchandize now remayning in these his (the Mughul's) dominions which wee could returne for our country, or that otherwise we might have leave to depart from hence, in prosecution of some more profitable designe"

To get out of the difficulty, negotiations were continued both with the Mughul and the Dutch, and neither of these parties, the English affirm, were easy to tackle "The king is so basely covetuous," they say, "that all appearanc's of profitt hoodwinkes him so much that he cannot see those inconveniences which goe hand in hand therewith" "They have no power," alleged the Dutch in their turn, "to consent unto such an obligation" (the renewal of the contract which had meanwhile expired). "If they (the Dutch) can perjudice us by any act of intervention, we know their affections and can guess at what they would willingly loose to weary us totally out of the whole trade"

That the Mughul was perturbed at the possible prospect of the English relinquishing Surat at that time is apparent from many records In a letter from the Mughul Governor of Surat (for example) the English were told that he believed that their 'discontent in respect of the monopoly of indico" might prove to be the 'greatest motive" in leaving Surat. The English President had gone away from Surat temporarily, because of his engagements at Goa The Mughul officer took it to be a permanent relinquishment, and according to the English records, entreated the President and others to come back

On 14th April, 1635, Surat at last definitely received the welcome information that the Mughul had thought fit to terminate the grant of a monopoly in indigo "The 14th of April, wee received the Kings firmaen, which assured us of the dissolution of the monopoly, but withall wee heard of no lower price than 50 or 48 rup per maen" But to thwart Dutch plans a quantity was bought by the English at Ahmadabad. "Wee had nor then nor since," says Surat, "any warrant to invest much mony in that comodity, yet somewhat wee did en order that might interrupt their proceedings, and by an appearance of buying more, wee put them upon the worst parcell of indigo that ever was made in Amadabad" The mutual competition

had of course a good deal to do with the then current high prices. But when Bālacanda impeded the English dealings in indigo, the two European nations drew together, and formed an agreement which prevented Asiatics from sending their indigo to Persia in Dutch or English vessels

By the beginning of 1636, the English hope of making a profit to the exclusion of the Dutch through 'Tatha, alias Sinda' was rising "Above all conveniences, transportation from Agra thither, soe much better cheape, will bee a happie opportunity to weary, if not to weare out, the (Dutch) from giveing those excessive prices for Agra indico, when wee shall in meere carriadge save 5 rup per maen of that place" Then their broker Dhanaji, (according to Methwold's letter of April) bought indigo in Agra at prices ranging between 45 and 56 rupees "Hee sauced the Hollanders" who were compelled to offer higher rates. But the action was unwise from the commercial point of view

In September, (1636) Ahmadabad says, "Of this years indico 7,000 maunds is computated to bee of the finer sort that swims and the rest bannawe or coorse indico" This 'bannawe or 'bunnah' may have some thing to do with bana (=jungle)

The Biana is still the prized variety, in 1638, and its dyeing capacity is about 50% superior to that of the cheap kind The same year, the Company wants 600 churls (at about 14l a churl) to be sent by the Discovery Robinson's letter of 26th December, tells us that indigo was abundant that year, and that the superior grade was even less than 20 rupees a mana But Fremlen expected to supply the Company with 2,000 manas of Biana at 45 rupees (inclusive of transportation charges to Surat) etc by the end of 1639 It became 70% dearer than Sarkhej

Surat writes on 28th January 1640 that finding the prices likely to go up the English eager to steal a march over the Dutch bought from "Devegee Saw a wealthy Banian merchant," 661 bales "of the best sort, swiming indico" and 340 of an inferior kind which "doth not swimme, but burnes well, and is a sort that in these latter years hath bine fraequently sent you and not much disliked by you" The rates were cheap enough, 22 25 rs. (a mana) for the better, and 16 25 for the inferior variety

An enclosure to a Basra letter of the same year says, "Every fardle contains 117 vaqueas, which is 3 munds, 23 seare, 6½ pice for which at present is offered but 56 ryalls We meane Circques indico, that of Agra at present is worth but 125 ryalls for the above specified fardle"

It was hoped by the very end of that year (1640) to send the expedition to Iran with a lading of indigo, sugar and cotton goods The Swan and the Mary carried a supply to Europe, and 540 more bales could not be sent because no ship was available The factors expected to sell these either in the Iranian or the Basra market The 'Scinda' indigo laded on the Swan was thought to be better than the Sarkhej, though worse than the Biana The opening up of a commerce with "Synda" in indigo, calicoes etc. is welcomed by the General Court, convened at Merchant Taylors' Hall, on 12th March, 1640, specially because of the probability that the Portuguese would keep the Dutch away from trading there

457 bales of the best kind were sent by the Crispiana. The factors wanted to obtain 200 bales more of new Biana, but the rains damped their hopes. The English and the Dutch combined against the Indian seller, but could not force him to come to anything lower than '40 rupees that maund' The Company was however selling Biana at 11s (a pound) in 1640, and "7s 6d per pound, at three six months tyme" in 1641

In 1643 Ahmadabad 'makers' began "to frame indico of the green leaf, as in Agra, and so it becomes very pure and good, yet the price thereof is pitcht so high that we are resolved not yet to buy more than 100 ts of that making' George Tash at Ahmadabad was however requested to buy about 500 bales of "the last years round indico," a much cheaper commodity than what was produced from the green leaf

The Company solid in its adamantine conservatism refused to admit any new fangled methods in the indigo business In their letter of 27th November, 1643 to Surat, they point out that a "new face or fabrique" was being given to Sarkhej This was not to be tolerated by any means The Dutch had passed off Sarkhej as Lahore, and there were complaints "Wee therefore desire that old customes may be kept and the commodity appeare in its wonted forme" While arranging exports from Surat, indigo was to be a prime concern But it was to be seen to that the merchandise was of good quality.

The European market was exceedingly weak in 1643. But early in 1644, 'Indicoe Agry' was procured by Surat at 33 rupees a maund and less The satisfactory price led them to order a thousand bales of the Agra variety and two hundred Sehwan The demand for Sehwan had however fallen off in 'Persia, Mocho yett Bussora alsoe,' and consequently the planters "doe annually more or lesse reduce the wonted quantities made

by them." It might not be possible for the Company's servants to procure it at all.

By the end of that year Swally says that want of rain and other causes (including heavy taxation) would decrease the supply at Agra for the coming year. Little Schwan indigo also could be procured by Spiller "The people are so exceedingly opprest (in those upper countries of Schwan or Seuestan and the adjacent places), and kept so miserably poor that, notwithstanding the soil is fertile and propper and would produce large quantities of good indicoes, they have neither will nor means to manure and sow the ground, so that the small quantity the country produced, not exceeding 400 maunds double (which is scarcely sufficient for the expence of those parts), rendered the commodity very dear, far beyond 40 rupees, the price we had limited Yet were there no other buyers than the Tuttha dyers which paid 41½ rupees, besides 3 rupees per maund other charges" In 1646, the price declined to 4s per lb of Lahore and 3s 4d per lb of Sarkhej Next year the supply price rose No Agra could be had at less than 43.

By the beginning of October 1647, Ahmadabad complained that "tury" (flat as opposed to round) indigo as well as other varieties became scarce "Before we have finished 250 (units) of the tury wee assure ourselves," they added, "wee shall not leave 100 maunds of that might be worth our owning unbought"

It was probably in a way fortunate that the market in Europe by this time became overstocked, and indigo was "in meane esteeme" The supplies from the East had to be duly restricted But inspite of all difficulties, the instructions of the Second General Voyage to borrow money for purchasing goods for Europe were forestalled, and Breton bought 300 bales of Agra at 40·75 to 43 75, (rs) "the maund Ekbar," and asked the local factors to procure 100 bales more If it was not available at Agra, the Ahmadabad and Surat markets were to be tried "Of Ahmad rownd indico wee are (however) very uncertaine whither any that is good, fitt for your occasions, wilbe procured" Indigo also is not be sent to Basra, because the market there is "dull and dead"

This falling off of demand both in Europe and Asia together with the high prices in India naturally decreased the volume of business. The factors in India became despondent, and Breton hoped (by the beginning of 1649) that conditions would improve, because these 'wholly depend upon

the goodness of the commodity,' and that the supplies sent by the Eagle and those being sent at the time of writing would prove satisfactory.

In 1643 the Court records a sale of sixty barrels of flat at 4s. 6d on sight By July, 1646, Lahore was sold to Richard Midleton at 4s. 4d On 14th October the Court authorised the Governor to sell thirty barrels at nothing less than 4s 6d. (per lb).

We have already perceived that references are found in the documents of the period to the indigo obtained from the Coast, in which some imported from Ceylon might conceivably have lurked To take a few more examples On 7th October, 1642, the Court refers to Wednesday afternoon being set apart for selling silk, pepper, and indigo both Sarkhej and Coromandel The same document which records this, refers to sale of rice, cinnamon cardamom seed, sugar and pepper

As Garway and Saynthill were 'restrayned of their liberty,' they petitioned the Court to put their Coromandel indigo in its care The Court refused their request on 2nd November of the same year.

In the General Court of Sales (of 1st March, 1643) the dust of Coromandel and Lahore indigo is referred to

William Cary an employee in the William was accused of substituting an inferior quality of Coromandel indigo which would not fetch even 1s 8d a lb for better indigo, in the Company's warehouse By April, 1644, the Company threatened Cary with dismissal if the charge was proved against him On 8th September, 1644 Ivy, Greenhill and Travell from Fort St George informed the Company that they had sent some indigo by the Swan They had procured it locally at 24 pagodas a candy

Next year Coromandel as well as 'flat' are on a list of the General Court of Sales The same year, we find some 'Coromande' being imported into England by Francis Day on his own account In 1646, Messrs Martin and Gould promised to get the opinion of their dyers on the efficacy of Coromandel Towards the close of that year flat Coromandel was bought by John Brett at 1s 6d at six months' sight

Again in January, 1647, flat indigo of the Coast was sold by the Company along with other merchandise

Shortly afterwards, the Company was offerred some Coromandel indigo by James Martin They however decided not to buy it, because of its extremely poor quality Five days later, it is recorded that a quantity of Coromandel was sold to Penning Alston from the Company's own stock.

Dust of this indigo, cardamoms, rice, Malabar pepper, calicoes etc. was sold again on 3rd September.

In another Swally letter of 31st January, 1649, "the despicable rates (indigo) bears in England," and the consequent small purchases in India are again referred to. Absence of rain, it points out, raised the price, and depreciated the quality of the available indigo. By the end of that year Lahore was sold to Brett at 5s 3d and Sarkhej at 4s. 3d. at six months sight. Regarding the weights and measures used in purchasing indigo at that time, Breton says "20 pice, by which indico is constantly bought, (make) a seare, whereof the fardle of Agra ought to contain 6 maunds 6 seare nett of 40 seare to the maund" Ahmadabad indigo was sold in the East by other standards "Of this indico, the fardle of rownd ought to weigh six and the flat 4 maunds exactly, of the prementioned maund of 40 seare, it haveing bin soe reduced in time of the Princes government in Ahmada" By the beginning of next year, President Merry observes that the price in England was still abnormally low, while the Agra price was not cheaper than 40 rupees a maun, though the quality had fallen off On 13th February, the Company asked Surat to despatch a further supply of indigo, calicoes, saltpetre etc by the Aleppo Merchant and the Love

By the end of October, Merry notices that 'this yeare there hath very little rayne fallen in all parts of India, and since the middle of July little or none" Hence the prospects of a good supply of indigo were not at all hopeful Not even a twentieth of the previous year's produce was expected In January, 1651, Merry says that the Company however did not want a large supply By the middle of October 1651, the market was so bad, that it was decided that seventy-seven barrels of Sarkhej and Sinda and sixty of Lahore should be sold by the candle, Sarkhej at 3s 8d, and Lahore at 4s 6d Ten barrels of each kind were to make a lot But it was hoped that the depression would lift, because it seemed 'likely wee may have peace with the Portugalls' An offer of 4s was however refused for some indigo on 13th November though one of 4s 6d. was accepted on the 19th.

Though the crop was plentiful in 1656, and on one occasion, the factors "did not in the leest doubt of supplying you (the Company) with 100 fardles of extraordinary good Surquiz indico", supply was difficult, because the Indian authorities were displeased with the English The Three Brothers however succeeded in taking a lading of piece-goods, indigo

etc. on 22nd November of that year A lading of pepper was to be sent by the Mayflower

The President in 1658 refers to a purchase of new indigo. Next year indigo (though only of the superior variety) was to receive a place among the 1,000 tons of various exports inlcuding cotton goods, cotton yarn, cardamons, coffee and pepper

In 1659, the English price for Lahore was 3s 10d to 4s. 1d, and Sarkhej 2s to 2s 1d. A letter from the Company which was received by Surat in 1660/1661 says that heavy stocks of indigo had accumulated in England, because of "the large quantities which the former yeare came from you and that addition which on (some other) ships is now returned" and the price had fallen "so low that it is not worth the bringing home, the Agra by your invoice being rated at about 26d per lb, and the Amadabad at about 12½d The Agra will not yield here above 3s. and 2d per pound, and the Amadabad not above 20d per pound" The student who would like to work out the Company's profits on these data, will have to take into account the charges for 'freight, custome' etc which rendered the ultimate 'cost price' a heavy one "Wee, now being glutted with that commodity, doe require that you buy none, unlesse you can have it delivered you at the Mareene, the Agra at 16d and the Cirquecaze at 8d per lb"

Sales of Lahore and Sarkhej indigo in Europe are however referred to in a good few records of 1660 and 1661 The list of the General Court of Sales of 1st August, 1660 includes Sarkhej indigo-shirts pepper, cardamoms coho (coffee) seed and indigo The coffee was disposed of a 7l 11s a cwt That of 10th October mentions among other commodities, indigo, ginger, pepper, sugar, cinnamon, coffee berries, redwood, indigoshirts, and cardamoms Bludworth and Spencer became security for Lahore in 1661 On 20th March of the same year, a sale of indigo, coffee, berries, indigo shirts and Malabar pepper is recorded[4]

J C De

4 O C, 1543A, 1543B, 1552, B M E M 2086, f 120, I, 118, O C, 1558, Letter Bks I, O C, 1655, 1720, 1725 1758 1740, 1764, Ct Bk XVII, O C, 1808, F R Mis XII, O C, 1858 1885, 1901 2031, F R Sur ciii, ciiA, O C, 2026, (Duplicates) 2147 2078, O C, 2114, Ct Bk XVIII to XX, XXIII, O C, 2179, 2204, 2216, 2228, 2359, C M and F F volumes, Ct Bk XXIV etc

MISCELANY

Where was Serajuddowla captured ?

The *Tirtha-mangala*[1] contains the following lines :—

সেইদিন সকবিগলি মোকাম হইল।
প্রভাতে উঠিয়া মাজী নৌকা বাহি দিল॥ ২১৬
গঙ্গাপ্রসাদ তেল্যাগাড়ি বামেতে থাকিল।
বাযুবেগে নৌকাগণ চলিতে লাগিল॥ ২১৭
যথা হৈতে নবাবেরে ধব্যা লয্যা ছিল।
সেই ফকিরের বাটী বামেতে থাকিল॥ ২১৮

"We halted at Sakrigali for that day. Rising next morning the 'manjhi' set the boat to motion. With the speed of the wind all the boats moved leaving Gangaprasad, Teliagarhi and the house of the Fakir on the left wherefrom was the Nawab captured."

The Nawab, referred to in the above passage, is Serajuddowla. Tradition goes that Seraj was handed over to the English by his host Dansah Fakir who had once been maltreated by him. The above passage confirms the tradition to the extent that Seraj was taken captive from a Fakir's house. If we travel on a boat up the Ganges from Rajmahal towards Bhagalpur we will have to sail past Sakrigali, Gangaprasad and Teliagarhi even to this day. Sakrigali has a railway station in Sahibganj Loop, E. I. Ry. and stands on the bank of the Ganges. Teliagarhi is well-known.[2] There is still a place called Gangaprasad in between Teliagarhi and Sahibganj. According to the account of the book the travellers then passed by the villages Lakshmipur, Srampur etc. before they reached the famous Patharghata which the historians identify with the Vikramaśilā university. So we can safely conclude that Nawab Serajuddowla was taken captive from a place somewhere between Teliagarhi and Lakshmipur.

This text, as the author himself tells us in lines 1123, was completed in the month of Bhadra of the Bengali year 1177 = 1769-1770 A.D. i.e. within fourteen years after the battle of Plassey. So we can take the statement as almost contemporary and more reliable than those of *Riaz-us-salatin*

1 Sahitya Parishad Publication no. 47

2 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, pp. 786-98. Also *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1940, 105-117

or *Mutaqherin*. The information found herein regarding the place of Seraj's capture is merely a casual reference made by the author. Hence it may be regarded as genuine information gathered at the very place of occurrence at a time when the memory was green. The book records the travel by boats by Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ghoshal whom the poet accompanied. Sri Kandarpa Ghoshal and Gokul Ghoshal, father and brother of the Maharaja, had great influence in the court of the English. The Ghoshal family helped them in their gradual stabilisation of power. The travel of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ghoshal, which is the subject-matter of the book *Tirtha-mangala*, had some political character. The poet says —

এক কাজে তিন কাজ,
কবহ নৌকাব সাজ—১২

i.e. "arrange the boats. This travel will serve three purposes at a time." Of the three purposes one was to come into closer contact with the influential men of different places of Bengal, Bihar and U.P. and thus to create opinions in favour of the English. So, if we take the historical aspect of the travel we can trust the statements as reliable.

So long the accepted views of the historians have been that Seraj was captured at or somewhere near Rajmahal. Orme writes that Seraj went upto Rajmahal and there he was captured. It happened on the banks of the Kalindi, opines the *Riaz*. Late Akshay Maitreya, the celebrated author of *Serajuddowla* (in Bengali), argues on the line and thinks that the Nawab sailed over the Mahananda and the Kalindi. According to Stewart it happened on his arrival opposite Rajmahal. Seraj was captured somewhere near Rajmahal, says the author of *Twarikh-i-mansuri*. The expression 'somewhere near' is too vague. A discussion of the probable route traversed by the Nawab may unfold the truth. The vanquished Nawab saw no hopes of recovery at Murshidabad and then thought of Mons Law, the only ray of hope in the dark horizon. With the declaration of war he had sent a letter to Mons Law (who, according to previous arrangement, was asked to wait with his party at Bhagalpur for such emergencies) to come to his assistance with the utmost expedition. According to *Mutaqherin* there was some delay on the part of Raja Ramnarain, the governor of Patna and a faithful ally of the Nawab, in sanctioning monetary help and as a result Mons. Law could not start in time. Meanwhile the Nawab proceeded towards Bihar to meet Law for help. His route lay over Rajmahal, be it by

land or the Ganges. But Rajmahal was his danger zone because the place was under Mir Daud, a brother and ally of Mir Jafar. So, for his safe bid for Bihar and Mons. Law, Seraj had to secure a quick passage over Rajmahal Mir Daud and Mir Quasim had been behind Seraj and they had just begun to pursue him by the order of the new Nawab, Mir Jafar Some, as we have seen, are of opinion that Seraj tried to proceed to Bihar *via* the Mahananda and the Kalindi i e by river routes other than the Ganges. This reads strange as it amounts to giving the enemy sufficient time to reach and guard Rajmahal and the news of his defeat and retreat to spread The route they suggest could in no way carry Seraj beyond Rajmahal The Nawab would on the other hand suffer by missing Mons Law whom he expected on the way. So it was more natural for Seraj to take the shorter and quicker route to Bihar up the Ganges than the round-about one to no purpose.

Seraj managed to pass over Rajmahal, Sakrigali, Gangaprasad and Teliagarhi while Mir Daud was chasing him But, as ill luck would have it, he could not go further Perhaps he thought himself safe having passed the danger zone of Rajmahal and halted for a short repast at a Fakir's abode on the bank of the Ganges The Fakir however betrayed him The Fakir's abode, which the *Tīrtha-mangala* identifies with the place of the capture of Seraj, must be the ruined one now seen on a small hillock called Khotnasi between the railway stations of Mirza-chowki and Pirpointy or the one at Pirpointy lying on the bank of the Ganges I would like to point out that this place is not far from Rajmahal and is midway between Rajmahal and Bhagalpur, where Mons Law was asked to wait on the eve of the Nawab's quarrel with the English and which was within three hours' journey by boat.

SARIT SEKHAR MAJUMDAR

Designation of Hell in the Ṛgveda and the Meaning of the word 'Asat'

In a recent article,[1] Prof. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania attempts to point out what the definite name was by means of which the Vedic people designated the place of punishment for the wicked after death It is suggested that *Asat* was the name by which this place

1 Norman Brown, "The Ṛgvedic Equivalent for Hell," *JAOS*, (June 1941) vol LXI, pp 76—80.

was called, and that it was meant not for the ordinary sinner whose punishment ended with being bound by Varuṇa's fetters or with incurring the displeasure of the gods, but for those actively anti-divine creatures like the *Rākṣasas*, the *Yātudhānas* or the *Kimīdins* who conspire against the sacrifice, injure the pious and defraud them of the fruit of their good deeds. We are asked to believe that the ordered universe is contrasted in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* with the place of hell, and the difference between the two is similar to that between *Aditi* and *Nirṛti*, between life and death, between the created, ordered and lighted world and the uncreated, unordered and unillumined place of dissolution, the latter is called *Asat* as contrasted with the former which goes by the name of *Sat* The gods fashioned the orderly universe from the primordial chaos which is no other than *Asat*, the disordered world of demons The famous *Nāsadīya* hymn (*RV* . X 129) has to be construed in this light, and the Vedic story of the fight beween *Indra* and *Vṛtra* is no more than an allegorical explanation of the process of the creation of this world It is true that *Asat* which thus means *hell* in the *Ṛgveda* does not mean so later on The reason for this is that, in the conception of *Asat* and *Sat*, the philosophers found a dualism which they "resolved into a monism that comprised the undifferentiated primordial chaos" Often this was left unnamed, but when this was named it was called *Asat* or Skambha or Brahman "This last term finally prevailed, and as it prevailed it signified an idea vastly different from that of the dreaded Rgvedic *Asat* Thinkers, having reflected upon hell, passed beyond it, and in passing beyond it turned their back upon heaven as well, to find their goal at last in the infinite Brahman which transcends both, whether the good or the evil "

Now, the word *Asat* occurs 60 times[2] in all in the *Ṛgveda* in its different forms, and it is a fact worthy of note that neither orthodox tradition nor western interpretation has ever given the word hitherto the sense of *Hell*

Of the 32 occurrences of *Asat*, Sāyaṇa understands it 9 times in the sense of 'is' (*asti* or *bhavati*), 2 times in the sense of 'was' (*āsīt*), 15 times

2 In *ṚV*, II 26 1, the word occurs as part of the compound *Abhyasat*, the the forms *ásan* and *asán* occur 7 times and twice respectively, but even these *two* words are nowhere understood in any of their occurrences to mean any sort of *location*, either by the traditional commentators or by western interpreters of the Veda

in the sense of 'should be or might be' (*bhavatu*, *bhavet* or *syāt*), 3 times in the sense of 'untruth' (*asatyam*), and *once* each in the senses of 'inauspicious' (*aśubham*), 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛtam*), and 'indescribable' (*nirupākhyam*).

Of the 15 occurrences of the form *Asat*, 6 times it means 'is' (*asti*), two times 'was' (*āsīt* or *abhavat*), 3 times 'let it be' (*bhavatu*), and *once* each in the senses of 'will be' (*bhavisyati*), 'might be' (*bhavet*), 'goes or reaches' (*gacchati*, *prāpnoti*), and 'fruitful' (*phalasādhanasamarthah*).

The form *Asatah* occurs *thrice*, and *once* each the word means 'of the villain' (*dustasya*), 'of the demon' (*rāksasasya*) and 'of the not yet existing Brahman' (*asatsamānāt brahmanah*)

The form *Asati* occurs 7 times, 4 times it means 'is' (*asti* or *bhavati*), and *once* each it means 'let it be' (*astu*), colourless Ether' (*nīrūpe antarikse*), and 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛte*).

The forms *Asatā*, *Asati* and *Asatyah* occur *once* each and mean 'misery' (*duhkhena*), 'is' (*bhavati*) and 'untruthful' (*vācikasatyarahitāh*)

Leaving aside the verbal usages which are of no use here, Sāyana's meanings[3] to the word are, therefore, 'inauspicious', 'unnameable', 'unmanifest', 'untruth', 'misery', 'fruitful', 'to go or reach' 'villain', 'demon' and 'ether'.

Roth and Bohtlingk[4] seem to accept only *three* of the meanings given to the word by Sāyana viz, 'unnameable or indescribable', 'unmanifest'

3 Yāska supports Sāyana in so far as the first of these meanings is concerned, the forms *ásat* and *asan* occur once each in the *Nirukta* (V 19 & IV 19 respectively) and mean respectively 'will be' (*bhavati*) and 'may be' (*syuh*) as interpreted by Yāska The word does not occur in the *Nighantu* That Sāyana also follows the tradition laid down by his predecessors in the field of Vedic interpretation may be inferred from the fact that commentators on the Veda like Skandasvāmin, Udgitha, Venkatamādhava and Mādhava, who lived long before him, interpret the word *Asat* exactly as Sāyana does in the several contexts in which it occurs Excepting the case of Venkatamādhava's commentary a complete Ms of which is available (*Adyar Library Ms*, No xxxviii, D 15), the rest are available only in fragments in their printed form. Hence of the several occurrences of the word *Asat*, Skandasvāmin's interpretation is available only for *RV*, I, 9 5, 107 I ,14 I, Udgitha's gloss for *RV* X 5 7, 10 11, 27 1, 29 2, and Mādhava's commentary for *RV* I 9 5, 57 2 (See *Rgvedabhāsya* of Skandasvāmin (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No 8), edited by Dr C Kunhan Raja, *Ṛgveda* with the commentary of *Udgītha-Ācārya* (Dayananda College Sanskrit Series, No 15), edited by Viśvabandhu Sastri, *Rgvedavyākhyā Mādhavakrtā*, edited by Dr C Kunhan Raja (Advar Libary, 1939)

4 *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, I 547

and 'untruth'. They give the following meanings to the word: (1) ***nicht seiend*** (not existing), ***nicht vorhanden*** (not present), ***keine realitat habend*** (having no reality), (2) ***wie es nicht ist oder sein sollte, seiner Bestimmung nicht ensprechend, unwahr, unrecht, schlecht*** (as it is not or should not be, having any clear ascertainment, untrue, unjust, bad), (3) ***nichtseiendes*** (non-existing), ***nichtsein*** (non-existence), (4) ***unwahrheit*** (untruth), ***Luge*** (lie). The same is the case with Grassmann[5] who, understanding the word both as an adjective and as a noun, gives the following meanings (1) ***nicht seiend*** (2) ***unwahr, unheilsam*** (3) ***das Nichtseiende*** (4) ***unwahrheit, luge***

To Wallis,[6] the word has only *two* meanings, when coupled with ***vacas,*** it obviously means 'false', and otherwise it always means 'not yet existing' which are the same as the 'untruthful' (*vācikasatyarahitāḥ*) and the 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛta*) of Sāyana His reasoning in support of his view runs 'The word *Asat* is used in the *Ṛgveda* in two senses, as an adjective with *vácas* 'speech', and as the converse of *sát* In the first case the meaning is clear, it is equivalent to ***asatyá,*** the unreal or the false, the converse of that which is really the fact When used with *sát* it occurs invariably in passages of a cosmogonic character, *sát* is said to be born from *ásat*, that is, translated into modern idiom, *ásat* precedes *sát*, or ***ásat*** becomes *sát*, we are told that Indra made ***ásat*** into *sát* in a trice, or ***ásat*** and *sát* are mentioned as in our hymn (X 129) as belonging to the first creation Where the two words are coupled together by a conjunction, ***ásat*** always precedes *sát* The ***ásat*** must therefore have had in itself the potentiality of existence, it is not merely the 'non-existent', but may almost be translated the 'not yet existing', as ***bhávat*** is elsewhere opposed to *sát*, *jāyamānam* to *jātám*, and ***bhávyam*** to ***bhūtám*** It is not colourless as our word 'nothing', it is the negation of *sát* Thus the whole meaning expressed by these dark words is nothing more than the process of becoming, the beginning of development or creation"

It is indeed in *RV*, VII 104 = *AV*, 4 that we get an almost complete picture of what we might call the "hell" of the Vedic people We read here of a serpent-infested hovel, cold, dark and silent, which is situated down below, where there is neither the Sun nor any other kind of light and which is a veritable place of complete annihilation Indra, Soma

5 ***Worterbuch zum Ṛgveda,*** p 153

6 ***Cosmology of the Ṛgveda,*** pp 61ff

and Agni are requested by their devotees to consign to this horrid place the entire legion of their enemies, whether they be the *Rākṣasas* or the *Yātudhānas*, the *Mūradevas* or the *Kimīdins*. There is no indication in this hymn or anywhere else in the *Ṛgveda* that this place is the natural abode of these enemies of the Vedic poets.[7] Moreover, the so-called anti-divine creatures denominated diversely by the Vedic seers by such terms as the *Dasyus*, *Rākṣasas*, *Śiśnadevas*, and *Mūradevas*[8] are no more than the aboriginal inhabitants who lived side by side with the Vedic people, without observing the religious rites and sacrifices performed by them, and it is only out of full devotion to his gods that the Vedic seer invoked them to punish all these neighbours who were of a separate belief and who did not observe his rituals.[9] Nor is there any warrant for the statement that the "ordinary mortals who have offended in some inadvertent manner hardly are in danger of it (hell).[10] The following verses[11] bear ample testimony to the fact that both the ordinary sinner as well as the 'demon' met with the same punishment

इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वव्रे अन्तरनारम्भणे तमसि प्र विध्यतम् ।

यथा नातः पुनरेकश्चन नोदयत् तद्वामस्तु सहसे मन्युमच्छवः ॥

यो मा पाकेन मनसा चरन्तमभिचष्टे अनृतेभिर्वचोभिः ।

आप इव काशिना संगृभीता असन्नस्त्वासत इन्द्र वक्ता ॥

न वा उ सोमो वृजिनं हिनोति न क्षत्रियं मिथुया धारयन्तम् ।

हन्ति रक्षो हन्त्यासद् वदन्तमुभाविन्द्रस्य प्रसितौ शयाते ॥

7 Norman Brown, *op cit* pp 78f

8 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp 155 157, Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p 150 n, Keith, *JRAS*, (1911), p 1002 n, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II 382, Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV 407 ff, Grassmann, *op cit* p 1053 Sāyana seems to consider the *Mūradevas* to be a sort of wild tribe regaling in murder (*māranakrīdāh*), but Roth and Bohtlingk (*op cit*, V 851) seem to consider them as a 'species of goblins' (*gewisser unholde*)

9 Barth, *Religions of India*, p 33

10 Norman Brown, *op cit*, p 78

11 *ṚV*, VII, 104 3, 8, 13 and 14

यदि वाहमनृतदेव आस मोघं वा देवाँ अप्यूहे अग्ने ।

किमस्मभ्यं जातवेदो हृणीषे द्रोघवाचस्ते निर्ऋथं सचन्ताम् ॥

In the first verse Indra and Soma are requested to plunge the evil-doers (*duṣkṛtaḥ*) into the depth which is pitch dark, so that none of them can ever come out, and thus see that their wrathful might prevails and conquers them. The term *duskrt* here may not necessarily denote only a *demon*, but means only any evil-doer (*Uebelthater*)[12] The remaining three are imprecations on 'speakers of untruth' (*asadvācaḥ*, *droghavācaḥ*),[13] and do not definitely specify any group of wrong-doers, in the first of these verses, Vasistha curses in anger that the utterer of falsehood who unjustly accuses him who follows the right path only, may, even like water compressed by the hollowed hand, perish, and the slanderer mentioned here need not necessarily be a demon The next verse says that Soma supports neither the crooked-minded nor one who poses as a ksatriya, but slays instead both the former fiend and the latter utterer of falsehood, both these culprits are also said to be entangled in the noose of Indra Granting that the other verses indirectly at least refer to the villainy of demons, this verse clearly speaks of *two* kinds of offenders, the demon as well as the utterer of falsehood who must belong to the Vedic clan alone, and both of whom suffer the same penalty In the last verse Vasiṣṭha is chafed at the displeasure of Jātavedas towards him for no offence on his part, and points out that Agni's anger towards him is unjustified for he worshipped neither false gods (*anrtadevāḥ*) nor accused the gods as being sham and that *destruction should fall only on those who utter lies* (*droghavācaḥ*). This last statement of Vasistha should prove that the punishment spoken of repeatedly in this hymn is meant not for any particular class of people, but for all those who go against moral law, by uttering untruth, for instance

In Vedic India, gambling, uttering falsehood, stealing, seduction, adultery, sorcery and witchcraft[14] were considered sinful From the re-

-- Grassmann, *Ṛgveda*, I 380

13 Grassmann ,(*Ibid* , p 381) renders these words by *Lugner*, and *Lugenredne* respectively

14 *ṚV* X. 34; I 152 1, 42 3, X 34 4, II 29 1; VII. 104 24, 15.

peated emphasis laid on following ancient tradition[15] (*purveṣām panthāḥ*) it is possible to infer that neglect of this duty was also considered criminal. But sin also meant to the Vedic seer not worshipping the customary gods (*adevayuḥ*), being averse to prayer (*brahmadvisah*), being irreligious and offering no oblations and no prayer (*avratāḥ, apavratāḥ, akarmakṛt*), and the sinner was always punished irrespective of the race to which he belonged. True that the *Dasyus*, the *Rākṣasas*, the *Śiśnadevas* and the like were always sinners according to the above definition, but this fact does not preclude the possibility of the existence[16] of sceptics even among the Vedic people who were condemned by the orthodox as vehemently as were the aboriginal neighbours who fall outside their clan It is these sceptics that should have been designated by such names as *adevayuh, brahmadvisah, avratāh, apavratāh, asunvatah, arātayah, apinatah, aśasah*[17] and then condemned in measureless terms The aboriginal group should have been composed of the *Dasyus, Mūradevas, Rākṣasas, Asuras, Śiśnadevas, Kimīdins*[18] and the like

In the hymn under consideration, it is only *three* verses that contain the word *Asat* and rightly understood, not one of these can prove that *Asat* means a *location* or the *name of a location* as we are asked to understand[19] *Two* of these verses[20] have already been commented upon, but

15 *ṚV* X 14 15, 130 7, I am indebted to my revered professor, Dr C Kunhan Raja, for this suggestion

16 That such a set of people existed in Vedic times is well-known The *Nirukta* of Yāska (I 15 ff) mentions the instance of *Kautsa* who, not content with questioning the authority of the Vedas, puts forth many an interesting argument to prove that they are meaningless and that their study is hence futile The *Gopatha Brāhmana* which contains several passages in it (I 2 18 and 19) where attempt is made to show the superiority of the *AV* over the other three Vedas may also be regarded as an attempt in the same direction (see my paper, "The Atharvaveda and the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhatta", *Indian Culture*, IV 369 ff) For an excellent treatment of this subject see *Introduction to the Nighantu and the Nirukta* by Lakshman Sarup, pp 71ff

17 To the same category belongs the *akarman, anrc, anindra, anyavrata, apavrata, abrahman, ayajvan, ayajyu* (cf Muir, *op cit*, IV 410)

18 Sāyana takes this word to mean a carper or calumniator who is ever ready to pick holes (*Kimidānīm iti carate piśunāya*), but Roth and Bohtlingk (*op cit*, II 287) and Grassmann (*op cit*, p 325) take the word to mean 'a class of evil spirit' So does Griffith (*Rgveda*, II, 98 n)

19 Norman Brown, *op cit*, p. 79

20 *RV* VII 104 8 ,3

the following verse[21] where *Asat* means 'untruth may be considered now

सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते ।
तयोर्यत् सत्यं यतरदृजीयस्तदित् सोमोऽवति हन्त्यासत् ॥

This verse, according to Sāyana, means that to a thoughtful man it is easy to understand that truth and falsity are opposites, Soma verily favours only that which is truer and more right, but smites the untrue (*Asat*) The explanation of this verse given by Grassmann,[22] Whitney,[23] and Griffith[24] are in the main identical with this interpretation of Sāyana which is quite acceptable In the face of all this one feels that it is to give too far-fetched an interpretation to think that the above verse means as follows

"There is a clear distinction for a man clever (in religion) True (*sat* = existent) and untrue (*asat* = non existent) charms conflict The true one, the straighter just the one Soma favours He destroys the untrue "[25]

The too well-known cosmogonic hymn in the *RV* (X 129) is most naturally understood as speaking of the birth of the world from the primordial chaos which defies all attempts at description, it would only be to read one's own prepossessed ideas into this hymn to imagine that it narrates the refashioning of this improvised world from what was originally the disordered den of demons

With the rejection of the view that *Asat* means *Hell* in the Veda, the need to explain how the word changed its meaning later is also obviated That the Upanisadic *Brahman* has its antecedent in the *Samhitās*[26] is an indisputable proposition It is not by such fanciful hypotheses as the probable unification of *Sat* with *Asat* which was often unnamed and sometimes named, that this is satisfactorily proved It is only in the philosophic portions of the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmanas*, in the pantheistic and monotheistic hymns and passages in these texts, in the conception therein of *Brahman* and *Prajāpati* of *Purusa* and *Skambha* of *Hiranyagarbha* and

21 VII 104 12
22 *Rgveda* I 381
23 *Atharvaveda* p 488
24 *Rgveda* II 99
25 Norman Brown, *op cit* p 77
26 See my "Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Rgveda" in course of publication in the *Indian Culture*, "Soul in Rgveda" in *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (vol XI, p 51 ff)

Viśvakarman that we have to seek for the real antecedents of the *Brahman* of the Upaniṣads.

The Ṛgvedic hell must still remain unnamed, though we know of its existence by such descriptions of it as that it is situated down below, that it is dark and cold, and that the sun never shines there

H G NARAHARI

The Guṇapatākā

In vol. XVII of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Mr. P K Gode has a note on the work called *Gunapatākā* He records five references to the work and suggests that the work was earlier than 1200 A D

The interesting work *Gunapatākā* caught my attention as early as 1933, when I noted down the following references to and quotations from it·—

1 Dakṣiṇāvartanātha quotes from it in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*, T.S S edn. LXIV, p 63

यथा गुणपताकायाम्—

वियोगे चायोगे प्रियजनसदृक्षानुगमनं
ततश्चित्रालोकं(क.) स्वपनसमये दर्शनमपि ।
तदङ्गस्पृष्टानामुपगतवतां स्पर्शनमिति
प्रतीकारः कामव्यथितमनसां कोऽपि गदितः ॥

2 This same verse is quoted also by Pūrṇasarasvatī in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*, Madras Ms R 3071 pp 44-45

वियोगे ... ... सदृक्षानुभवनं
ततश्चित्रालोकः ... ... ।
... ...
... ... · ... ॥ इति गुणपताकोक्तेः ।

3 More important than these two references or those recorded by Mr Gode are those made to this work in that well-known Kāma Śāstra work *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka The *Gunapatākā* is one of the source-books for Kokkoka, even as Vātsyāyana's work, and Kokkoka accepts the treatment of some topics as found in the *Gunapatāka* There are three such references to the *Gunapatākā* in the *Ratirahasya*

(a) *Ratirahasya*, p. 35, Kasi edn ch 4. śls. 3-4.

उक्तं **गुणपताकायामवस्थासु** क्रिया च या ।
तामपि न्यायसंवित्तिसिद्धत्वादाद्रियामहे ॥

बाला ताम्बूल माला०— ॥

(the verse quoted, as noted by Mr Gode, by Nārāyanadīkṣita on *Vāsavadattā*, and Harihara and Jagaddhara on *Mālatīmādhava*)

(b) *ibid*, p 37 ch 4 śl 7

यत्प्रकृतीनां लक्षणमभिहितमधिकं च **गुणपताकायाम्** ।
तत्राप्यनुभवसिद्धंस्फुटतरमभि धीयते किमपि ॥

स्निग्धनखनयनदशना ०— ॥

(c) *ibid*, p. 44. ch 4. śl 25.

उक्तं **गुणपताकायामनुरागेङ्गितं** च यत् ।
अजातजातभोगाना तत्साधारणमुच्यते ॥

ओष्ठाग्रं स्फुरतीक्षणे विचलतः ०— ॥

The commentary of Kāñcīnātha says in all these three places गुणपताकाख्य**शास्त्रे**, गुणपताकाख्य**शास्त्रे**, गुणपताकायां **शास्त्रे** and the characterisation of the work as Śāstra may be taken as showing that the work is an old, authoritative, source-book

Except in the case of the verse बाला ताम्बूलमाला ०—reference No. 1, we are not able to be quite sure whether Kokkoka is quoting (in the two other cases) the verses in *Gunapatākā* or is only reproducing the ideas in *Gunapatakā* in his own words

Regarding the nature of the work *Gunapatākā*, it is pretty clear that it is a Kāmaśāstra treatise It is likely, as can be made out by a passage cited by Mr Gode in a foot-note (No 1), that the work takes its name after the lady Gunapataka to whose queries the book is addressed in the form of answers by Mūladeva, the Nāgaraka, *par excellence*, of ancient India

And regarding its date Mr Gode shows that it must be earlier than A.D. 1200. In the Sanskrit Introduction to the Kasi edition of the *Ratirahasya*, it has been pointed out that *Ratirahasya* III 8 रक्तजाः क्रमयः०— is found quoted in the *Jayamangalā* (NS Press, private edn 1900 p 78), I have shown in my thesis on Bhoja's *Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa* that Bhoja uses the *Jayamangalā*, therefore *Gunpatākā* must be considerably earlier than Bhoja (*c* 1010-1062 A D)

V. RAGHAVAN

Bharata Mallika and his Patron

Bharata Mallika, the celebrated scholiast of Bengal, who can justly claim to be the Mallinātha of our province, was a most prolific writer of treatises commentaries and tracts. As early as 1828 A.D. his famous commentary on the *Bhattikavya* was published along with the *Jayamangalā*[1] and his commentary on the *Amarakosa* was substantially reproduced in the *Śabdakalpadruma*. He had consequently earned an all-Bengal reputation, though belonging to the *Mugdhabodha* school of restricted provenance. His well-merited reputation has, however, considerably suffered in recent years for his allegiance to a non-Pāninian school of grammar.

His Works

His works may be divided into two classes viz. commentaries and independent treatises. Besides the *Bhattikavya* he wrote popular glosses on all the five classical epics whose manuscript copies mostly fragmentary are available in the Ms. libraries of Bengal.

(1) The commentary on the *Bhattikāvya* is significantly named the '*Mugdhabodhinī*' and is undoubtedly the best commentary on the book in the whole of India. His lucid explanations on all connected topics, grammatical, rhetorical, textual and exegetical display an all round scholarship. It is a pity that the students of Pānini even in Bengal do not appreciate the merits of one of the best scholiasts that the province can boast of. He is largely indebted in this work to another great scholar of Bengal Pundarīkāsa Vidyāsāgara of the Kalāpa school.[2]

(2) The common name of the rest of his commentaries seems to be '*Subodha*', that on the *Kumarasambhava* extends up to the 7th canto. According to Bharata this epic originally consisted of 16 cantos, the last eight of which were lost by chance, while the 8th one was cursed by Pārvati Herself! Thus,

तस्य शेषाष्टसर्गस्य मन्नागोऽभून्न दैवतः ।
पाठोऽष्टमस्य सर्गस्य देवीशापान्न विद्यते ॥[3]

1 Edition in 2 vols. Education Committee, Calcutta 1828 A.D. Jīvānanda's several editions of the *Bhattikāvya* as well as Gurunātha's editions completely published Bharata's comm.

2 *Vide Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā* vol XLVII, pp 152-53. Bharata rarely refers in this work to his predecessors by name, but Vidyāsāgara has been cited by name several times e.g. on X. 23, 66, 73, XI. 4, 42, XII. 57, 78 &c.

3 *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Sans. Coll. Calcutta, vol. VI (Kavya) pp. 16-17

This commentary is concise and short.

(3) For the comm. on the *Raghuvaṃśa vide* Eggeling I O Cat p 1415

(4) on the *Kirāta*, *vide ibid*, p 1429.

(5 on the *Śiśupālavadha*, *vide* Eggeling, *op cit*, p 1432 This is an exhaustive commentary full of references to a large number of previous commentators. According to Bharata the poet Māgha was a king (**माघनामा नृप**). In a fragment we examined in Calcutta (extending up to the 2nd canto) there are quotations from the following commentators[4] Daṇḍapāṇi (fol 5b & 18a), Dhitikara (29a) Dhitidāsa (6a, 30b), Padmanābha (5a), Baladāsa (6b 15a) Bhagīratha (18b), Bhavadatta (often) Madhusūdana (8b) and Vallabha (often) But the most interesting of all are two rare references to Mallinatha and Rayamukuta, which are reproduced below —

(i) (on verse II 16) **सर्व्वङ्कषायां** वदनेति पाठ., स तु.. (अ)मूलो वर्णक्रमोऽन्यटीकाकृद्भिरव्याख्यातत्वात् प्राचीनबहुपुस्तकेष्वदृष्टत्वाच्च । (fol 38b)

(ii) (on verse II 20) वासितं सुरभीकृते इति धरणिस्तदभिप्रायेण वास. सौरभ्यमिति **बृहस्पतिमिश्रः** । (fol 39b)

It is likely that Bharata was borrowing without acknowledgement from a previous Bengali commentator Candraśekhara who was equally rich in quotations[5]

(6) Bharata as a scholiast reached his peak by successfully tackling the crux of Indian commentators viz Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadha* A part (cantos I-III) is now available in print fully keeping up his reputation though, unlike his *Māgha-ṭīkā* he refrains here from naming his numerous predecessors[6]

(7-10) Bharata also commented on the popular lyrics of his times.

4 Sans Ms No 774 of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta

5 *Vide* Eggeling I O Cat pp 1433-34 Candraśekhara flourished *circa* 1500 A D being a son of Visnu Pandita one of the teachers of Caitanyadeva Candraśekhara's brother Mahādeva wrote a commentary on the *Anargharāghava* in 1494 A D (*Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*, vol XLVII, pp 243-53)

6 Ed with three comm of Nārāyana, Bharata and Vamśivadana by Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārī, Calcutta, 1326 B E pp 232 The Ms preserved in the Sans Coll, Calcutta (*Des Cat* VI, p 39) goes up to Canto X (fol 306)

four of which have so far been discovered viz glosses on the *Meghadūta, Ghatakarpara, Nalodaya* and the *Gītagovinda* [7]

(11) Bharata's reputation in the indigenous schools rests, however, on the *Mugdhabodhinī*, commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*, where his scholarship in grammar and lexicography is displayed at its best It is undoubtedly the best and the largest etymological work in the *Mugdhabodha* school and is full of references to previous authors and works It begins —[8]

नत्वेशं कुरुतेऽम्बष्ठः गौराङ्गमल्लिकात्मजः । टीकाममरकोषस्य भरतो मुग्धबोधनीम् ॥
यः पाणिनीयादिभिरत्र टीकाः कृता महद्भिर्बहुभिर्महत्य. ।
ताभिः प्रहृष्यन्ति न मौग्धबोधास्तेषां नियोगेन ममोद्यमोऽयं ॥

and ends —

इति नानाग्रन्थदृष्ट्या मुग्धबोधानुसारतः । सामान्यकाण्डे व्याख्यानं चक्रे भरतमल्लिकः ॥
इति हरिहरखानस्यान्वयवायप्रसूतो मुरहरपदसेवासक्तगौराङ्गजातः ।
अमरविहितकोषं मुग्धबोधानुसाराद् व्यवृत भरतसेनः पूर्वटीकादिदृष्ट्या ॥

Among the predecessors frequently cited by him the latest names are those of Vidyāvinoda, Ramānātha and Nayanānanda An edition of the book is a long-felt want, though it has been thoroughly utilised in the *Śabdakalpadruma*

Among his original works there are two genealogical treatises, the *Candraprabhā* and the *Ratnaprabhā* both available in print The former, a close print of 450 pages of Sanskrit verses,[9] is a monument of industry, where a bewildering mass of details has been collected and recorded about every single Vaidya family of rank in Bengal including the author's own family It was written when the author was in the company of his own grandchildren named in the book (p 32) He wrote about his own works thus, —

वैद्यानामाज्ञया योऽमुं कुरुते कुलपञ्जिकाम् ।
चकार चापरान् ग्रन्थान् द्रुतबोधादिकान् बहून् ॥

From this it would appear that the first book he wrote and probably the best in his own opinion was the *Drutabodha*, an independent Sanskrit grammar consisting of metrical Sūtras, explained by himself in a long com-

7 For *Meghatikā*, *vide* Eggeling *I O*, p 1422 On the *Nalodaya*, *ib* p 1425 A fragment on Jayadeva in the library of the Vangiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta (Sans Ms No. 39) L 3172 for gloss on Ghatakarpara.

8 From a complete Ms dated 1705 Śaka belonging to the present writer

9 Ed by Kaviraja Binodlal Sen, Calcutta, 1299 B S

mentary called the *Drutabodhinī*[10] Two medical works, *Ratnakaumudī* and *Sārakaumudī*, are also ascribed to him showing that he did not neglect his own profession by caste. The rest of his works so far discovered are very small but useful treatises in verse on different grammatical topics meant evidently for memorising viz.

(i) *Ekavarṇārtha-saṃgraha* on monosyllabic homonyms.[11]

(ii) *Dvirūpadhvani-saṃgraha* on multiform words

(iii) *Upasargavṛtti* on the prepositions.

(iv) *Sukhalekhana* on orthography

(v) *Kārakollāsa*

The last named book, which has been published,[12] probably forms part of a bigger work as its name signifies. We examined recently an old copy, dated 1635 Śaka, which begins as follows —

हरिनामामृते नाम्नि कारकं परिशिष्यते ।
कारकं स्यात् क्रियामूलं क्रिया धात्वर्थ उच्यते ॥

The colophon runs —[13]

इति श्रीभरतसेनकृतौ **हरिनामामृते व्याकरणे** कारकोल्लासः समाप्तः । (fol 9")

His Date

There is great confusion among scholars regarding his date which, however, can now be fixed correctly Colebrooke[14] believed that he flourished in the middle of the 18th century A D, so also R L Mitra On the other hand R. Śarmā (p. xx Intr, *Kalpadrukosa* vol. I) wrongly stated that Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa in his commentary on the *Kavikalpadruma* written in 1561 Śaka (1639 A D) cited from Bharata's *Amaraṭīkā* This is entirely due to an oversight, the reference being to an edition of the *Kavikalpadruma* with Durgādāsa's commentary (Calcutta, 1897), where the editor Śivanārāyana Śiromani enriched the commentary with supplementary notes, added within brackets, from Bharata and other writers Durgādāsa as a matter of fact never cited from Bharata in any of his works

10 *Vide Des Cat, of Sansk Mss*, A S B, Pt I (Grammar), 1877, p 21

11 (i) Printed in the *Vidyodaya* for 1888, pp 9-14 (ii) *vide I O Cat*, pp 295 For (iii) *Des Cat., Sans Coll* Calcutta, vol VIII, pp 99-101 For (iv) L 568

12 Ed Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta, No 8

13 Ms belonging to Pandit Yatindranātha Tarkatīrtha of Navadvīpa

14 *Kosa* by Umura Singha, 1807 Preface, p vi According to Mitra 'his age is about 1750 A D' (*Des Cat*. A S B. Pt I, 1877, p 239)

The printed edition of Bharata's *Candraprabhā* ends with the following statement — (p. 450).

शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५९७, भरतमल्लिकस्य स्वहस्तलिखितपुस्तकसमाप्तिः ।

This gives us a clear date (1675 A D) for one of his works, but as the original manuscript is not available for examination some doubt may be entertained about its genuineness But the *Candraprabha* contains several clues for determining its approximate date Let us refer to one Kavicandra Datta, a celebrated Vaidya scholar of Bengal, wrote the *Cikitsāratnāvalī* in 1583 Śaka (1661 A D) as the following verse would show —[15]

गङ्गातरङ्गलसदङ्गविहङ्गभृङ्गरङ्गस्फुरत्मनतगुञ्जितमञ्जुकुञ्जे ।
दीर्घाङ्गनामनगरे कृतगुम्फनोऽयं ग्रन्थः कृशानुवसुबाणशशाङ्कशाके ॥

This Kavicandra of Dīrghānga or modern Digang near Vaidyavati on the Ganges is incidentally mentioned in the *Candraprabhā* —

रामेश्वर· स्वदैवेन दत्तवंशभुव· सुताम् ।
कविचन्द्रस्य जग्राह दिगङ्गेऽपत्यवर्जितः ॥ (p 60)

The *Candraprabhā* stops in this section with the mention of the sons of Rāmeśvara's younger brother one of whom Raghava appears to have married a daughter of Kavicandra's son Kavivallabha -

राघवो दत्तदीगङ्ग-कविवल्लभजापति· ।

Kavicandra is also mentioned on p 296 —

रामजोवनदासोऽयं दैवाद्दीगङ्गवासिन· ।
कविचन्द्रस्य दत्तस्य कन्यकां परिणीतवान् ॥

and here also the section ends with the mention of a brother's son There is no doubt therefore, that Bharata was a true contemporary of Kavicandra and the date of his work *Candraprabhā* (1675 A D) appears to be quite correct

A Ms copy of Bharata's *Upasargavrtti* has been described as being dated in '907 Sāla' (that is, Bengali Era) corresponding to 1500 A D[16] There is absolutely no doubt that the date is wrong whether it refers to the Bengali era or even the Mallābda This is a notable instance of how a careless recording of a date may be responsible for unsound speculations among scholars

15 Eggeling *IO Cat* p 958
16 *Des Cat of Sans Mss*, Sans Coll, Calcutta, vol VIII p 101

According to the editor of the *Kārakollāsa* (pp. 3-4) Bharata wrote the *Amarakosa-ṭīkā* in 1703 A D. (i e. 28 years after the *Candraprabhā* which itself was written at an advanced age) on the strength of the following verse, 'composed by Bharata himself,' found in a manuscript —

शर-युगल-रसैकख्यातशाके घटेने निजतनयसुखार्थं पाठकानां सुतृप्तयै ।
व्यरचि भरतसेनेनेति या कोषटीका लिपिमलभत सेयं लिङ्गसंग्राहकल्पे ॥

This, however, is not a record of the date of composition but of the copy An older copy dated 1622 Śaka exists in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal [17] In fact Bharata wrote this commentary exactly in 1599 Śaka (1678 A D), as the following statement is found at the end of the *Manusya-varga* in a copy —[18] (fol 20b)

॰मुग्धबोधिन्या नृवर्गविवरणं समाप्तं ॥
ग्रन्थकारस्य शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५९९।९।१५।२५ ॥

A Ms copy of Bharata's *Drutabodha* has been discovered dated 1581 Śaka (1659 A D) this is the earliest copy of his works so far discovered and was undoubtedly written in his lifetime The colophon is given below —[19]

प्रकीर्णपादः ॥ हरिहरखानकुलेन्दुर्वंशो गौराङ्गमल्लिकः ख्यात॰ (1)
तस्य तनूद्भव एतच्चक्रे भरतो नृपाज्ञातः ॥
इति मद्वंश-गौराङ्गमल्लिकात्मज-श्री-(भर)तसेनविरचितं द्रुतबोधव्याकरणं समाप्तं ।
शुभमस्तु शकाब्दा॰ १५८१ ॥ श्रीसहदेवदासस्य पुस्तकमिदं (fol 90b)

The period of Bharata's literary activity may now be correctly fixed between 1650 and 1680 A D

His Patron

We have seen above that Bharata wrote the *Drutabodha* at the request of his patron who was a 'king' The *Raghuṭīkā* was also written at royal request (भूभृन्निदेशात् *I O* p 1415) At the end of the commentary on the *Meghadūta* we read —

इति हरिहरखानख्यातवंशारविन्द-द्युमणिविमलकीर्त्तिव्रात-गौराङ्गजातः ।
प्रियगुणिगणभूरिश्रेष्ठभूपालशिष्टे-रकृत भरतसेनो मेघदूतस्य टीकाम् ॥
(*I O* p. 1422)

17 *Des Cat* of *Sans Mss*, R A S B, vol VI, p 307

18 Belonging to the present writer, the date of the copy is 1705 Ś

19 Sans Ms No 881 of the Vangiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta There are marginal notes probably from the *Drutabodhini*, on fol 24a there is a note —
जीवोप्याह तत्रैकस्यामेव क्रियायामीप्सिततमममनीप्सितञ्चेति कथं द्वयं स्यात्......।

Bharata describes himself in the *Candraprabhā* as —

भूरिश्रेष्ठमहीपालसमापण्डितविश्रुतः ।   (p. 32)

The *Māghatīkā* was, moreover, written for the benefit of the royal prince then under pupilage —

यद्यपि टीकामस्य प्रज्ञा बहवो गरीयसीं चक्रुः ।
तदपि **पठन्नृपपुत्रप्रीत्य** स्पष्टामिमां कुर्वे ॥   (*I O* p 1432)

Who was this king of Bhūriśrestha who patronised this great scholar? A very curious mistake, due to a printer's devil or a scribe's prank, has gained currency among scholars that the name of this king was Kalyānamalla, son of Gajamalla. According to R L. Mitra, Bharata's commentary (*Drutabodhinī*) on his own *Drutabodha* contained the following verses at the beginning —

पद्मबन्धुकुलाम्भोधिशीतांशुर्लोकविश्रुतः ।
त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र इत्यासीत् कर्पूर ऋत्विजेश्वरः ॥
तत्पुत्रोऽस्ति पराभूतवैरस्त्रीमण्डनस्पृह ।
सर्व्वलक्षणसंयुक्तो गजमल्लो महायशा ॥
तस्य कल्याणमल्लोऽस्ति नन्दनो बुद्धिसागर. ।
तेनेयं द्रुतबोधस्य टीकाक्रियत बोधिनी ॥[20]

All the above verses excepting the last line really belong to a commentary named *Mālatī* on the *Meghadūta* by Kalyānamalla.[21] A careless scribe must have blundered from one manuscript to another neatly transferring a work of Bharata upon the shoulders of a royal author outside Bengal. No princes of the solar line ever reigned anywhere in Bengal late in the 17th century A D.

Bharata mentioned the name of his patron in the *Candraprabhā* as follows —(p 27)

इति प्रजाधीश्वरधीरवीर **प्रतापनारायण**सत्सदस्यः ।
श्रीकृष्णाख्यानस्य जगत्प्रसिद्धा वंशावलीं श्रीभरतो जगाद ॥

The name of this Rājā Pratāpanārāyana is now almost forgotten, though he was a most illustrious prince of his times. Bhāratacandra Rāya, the celebrated poet of Bengal, belonged to a junior branch of the same family also mentioned the name of Pratāpanārāyana in one of his poems —

भूरिशिट राज्यवासी   नाना काव्य-अभिलाषी
ये वंशे प्रतापनारायण । (*Rasamañjarī*)

20 *Des Cat of Sans Mss*, A S B Pt I (Grammar), 1877, p 21 & p cxv

21 *Vide* Eggeling *I O Cat*, p 1423. Also Mitra *Notices of Sans Mss*, vol VII, p 149 No 2383

Bhūriśrestha or the Bhursut *pargana* is now scattered in the three districts of Howrah, Hughly and Burdwan It was acquired by Rājā Kīrticandra (1702-40 A D.) of Burdwan from the hands of Pratāpanārāyaṇa's grandson, after which the family passed into obscurity Pratāpanārāyana's ancestor 'Rajā Krsna Rāya' (belonging to a branch of the 'Mukherji' family of Rādhīya Brahmins) first got possession of the kingdom about 1500 A D., so that the family ruled for more than 200 years. According to popular legends in the locality a queen of this family fought successfully and saved the kingdom from the hands of the conquering Mahomedans, earning the title of 'Rāya-vāghinī A Bengali poet Rāmadāsa Ādaka, author of the *Anādimangala* written in 1584 Saka (1662 A D), mentions Rājā Pratāpanārāyana as the reigning monarch and the next chief Rājā Naranārāyana was ruling in 1092 B.E (1685 A D)[22] This is in perfect agreement with the date of Bharata fixed by us above

Bharata belonged to the village 'Pindira" (in the Hughly district), as stated by Ward (*The Hindoos*, 1822 Ed London, vol II p 485) and by Gopālakrsna Rāya in the अम्वष्ठसम्वादिका (1256 B E, p 68) —

> एवन्ततकुलसम्भूतो भिषग् भरतमल्लिकः ।
> पिट्ड्या-ग्रामनिवासी स शास्त्रज्ञः पण्डितः सुधी॰ ॥

Against this the current tradition of his present descendants (Intr to the *Kārakollāsa* &c) cannot be accepted

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Śrī Śaṃkara in Cambodia?

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Indian Review* (February, 1940) and Mr K A Nīlakantha Śāstri in the *Journal of Oriental Research* (vol XI, pts. 3-4) have expressed the view that on the authority of a Kambuja inscription mentioning the installation of the god Bhadreśvara by Śiva Soma, we must assign Śamkara to about 800 A D, because Śiva Soma, in the 39th verse of the inscription, is said to have learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat

22 *Vide Rāya-vāghini*, a semi historical work in Bengali by Bidhu Bhusana Bhattacharyya, p 159 The *Anadimangala* has been published by the Vangīya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta We have attempted to give a short history of the Bhursut family in the *Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*, vol 48, No 4, pp 189-200

Śamkara himself (*Bhagavat Śaṃkarābhvayāt*) Śiva Soma was the grandson of Jayendrādhipativarman, the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II of Kambuja, and the *guru* of Indravarman I (878-887 A.D)

The inference that this Bhagavat Śamkara is no other than Ādi Śamkara seems to be unwarranted I have shown elsewhere[1] that Śamkara lived towards the close of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century, as the contemporary of a number of Jaina, Bauddha, Naiyāyika, Vaiśesika, Mīmāmsaka, Vaiyākarana authors and in any case cannot be later than Śāntiraksita and Bhavabhuti (*c* 720 A D.) We should therefore be very careful before making a sweeping assertion assigning Śamkara to a date a century later

In the history of Kambuja, the eighth century was a period of anarchy, Jayavarman III who had the posthumous name Parameśvara came to the throne in 787 A D His *Sdog Kak Thom* inscription says that the Parameśvara (Java II) came from Java to reign in Indrapura He and his family *purohita* Śivakaivalya successively established themselves at Kandavāra Homa, Hariharālaya, and Amarendrapuri This Śivakaivalya was ignorant of Śaiva Tantras and therefore learnt the Vināśika, Nayottara, Sammoha and Śiraccheda and the ritual of Jagattarāja (Bhadreśvara-Deva Rāja imported from Campā), from a Brāhmana Devarāja who had come from India (*janapada*) Another inscription of Ś 815 (=893 A D.) of Muni Śiva Śakti refers to the muni's ancestor whose brother and sister were Visnu Vala and Prāṇā Kambuja Laksmī. The latter was the queen of Jayavarma II in about Ś 724 (=802 A D) when the king founded Mahendra Parvata

Jayavarma III Visnuloka, a nephew of Śivakaivalya, seems to have ruled from 854 to 877 A D His successor Indravarma I belonged to a new dynasty in matriarchal relationship with the previous dynasties His posthumous name was Īśvaraloka and he ruled from 877 to 889 A.D His Baku inscription of Ś 801 (=879 A D) refers to the installation of three images of Śiva with consorts dedicated to Prthvīndreśvara, Parameśvara, Rudreśvara, Prthvīndra Devi and Dhavanīndra Devi

1 *The Age of Samkara* VIII Oriental Conference, Mysore, *Sources of Karnātaka History*, vol I University of Mysore, *Advaitācāryas of 12th and 13th Centuries Winternitz Commemoration Volume Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938 *QJMS* April, 1930 *Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, vol 12, 1931

Indra I died in 889 A D His son Yaśovardhana became Yaśovarman I and began a glorious period of Kambuja history He is the builder of the famous Angkor Thom (Yaśodharapura or Kambupura) and his conquests extended far and wide Pāśupata Śaivism in Kambuja attained its climax.

We are concerned now with two inscriptions of his time mentioning Śiva Soma The Sdog Kak Thom inscription (*B E F E O*, XV, no 2, p 89) says that Yaśovarman's teacher in his boyhood was Vāma Śiva, the disciple of Śiva Soma, the *guru* of Indra I The Phnom Sandak Inscription (*I S C C*, p 336) of Ś 817 (=895 A D) begins with an invocation to the Trimūrtis, Gaurī and Sarasvati (Śiva, Rudra, Dhūrjati, Varāha, Visnu Brahma, Gaurī, Sarasvati) In stanza 18, it is said that during his reign (Yaśovarma's?) an eminent *muni* Soma Śiva was like an ocean of learning in the Śāstras His disciple was the worshipper of Śrī Indravarmeśvara The sea of Śiva Śastra was churned by his Mandara like mind He consecrated Śrī Bhadreśvara in Ś 817 (=895 A D)

Thus we have the following synchronism —

King	*Purohita*
Jayavarma II (787-854)	Śivakaivalya (brought the cult of Bhadreśvara—Deva Rāja (Jagattarāja) from Bhadravogi, in the Vijaya of Indrapura
Jayavarma III (854-877)	Suksma bindu, the nephew of Śivakaivalya
Indravarma I (877 889)	Śiva Soma
Yaśovarman (889 910)	Vāma Śiva, disciple of Śiva Soma, consecrated Bhadreśvara in 895 A D Priest of Indravarmeśvara (Loley Inscription)

Yaśovarma consecrated two Śivalingas Indravarmeśvara (in the name of his father) and Mahāpatīśvara (his maternal grand-father) and the goddesses Indradevī (his mother) and Rājendradevi (his maternal grand-mother) He brought Jagattarāja from Hariharālaya to Kambupuri (Angkor Thom), erected the central mount Yaśodharagiri, and the high priest was Vāma Śiva, the pontiff of Śivāśrama who consecrated the image This grand monument may have been begun by Śiva Soma at Bayon (*Śivāśrama*) in the time of Indravarma I and Vāma Śiva in the time of Yaśovarman planned the subsequent developments. Whether Bayon was originally a Buddhist

shrine dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, as Finot asserts, is a matter of controversy But in the 9th century it became the centre of Pāśupata Śaivism. Yaśovarman made elaborate regulations for worship Only Māheśvaras should officiate as priests of Indravarmeśvara In the *āśrama,* the king. Brāhmaṇas, and after them Śaivācāryas and Pāśupatācāryas should have precedence Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ascetics should be honoured especially if they were versed, in Vyākaraṇa A Sugatāśrama was established but the Bauddha Ācārya was considered inferior to a learned Brāhmana

These regulations remind us of the Kālāmukha centres in Karnātaka-Belgāmvi, Hūli, Śrīśaila etc The Kālāmukha university town at Belagāmbi, the Gōlakīmatha in Āndhra and Tamil countries possessed enormous power and the Ācāryas were men of great learning giving instruction in the Vedas, Darśanas, Grammar etc , maintaining *arogyaśālās* (hospitals) and *prasūtikārogyaśālās* (maternity hospitals), giving sanctuary to refugees and feeding people without distinctions, though Kālāmukhas (Māheśvara, Mahāvratin, Pāśupata Lākula etc being their designations) were ardent Śaivas, yet they protected *catussamayas* (of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha and Jina) The surnames of these ācāryas were Śiva, Śakti, Sambhu, Ābharaṇa, jīya, vrati, muni etc The inscriptions in Karnātaka mention Vāma Śiva, Soma Śiva, Kedāra Śakti, Śrīkantha Śambhu, Viśveśvara Śiva, Lokābharana and a host of others The *Śaiva tantras* taught to Śiva Kaivalya, the *Vināśika, Nayottara Sammoha* and *Śiraccheda* have all been traced by B R Chatterji The *Śiraccheda* belongs to *Jayadratha Yāmala* The *Naya* and *Uttara* are parts of the *Niśvāsatattva Samhitā* The *Vināśika* is a supplement to *Jayadratha* In the *Brahma Yāmala* the *Nayottara, Sammoha* and *Śiraccheda* are assigned to the Vāmasrotā Whether these tantric texts were imported from Bengal or Karnātaka is uncertain The connection with Karnātaka seems to be indicated by the mention of Śrī Satyāśraya, a minister of Yaśovarman well-versed in Astrology (*hōra śāstra*) like Satyācārya. This minister established Mādhava (a Viṣṇu image) as Trailokyanātha in 910 A D The name Satyāśraya is the same as that of Iriva Bedanga Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa II the Cālukya emperor of Kalyāni, who overthrew the Rāstrakūtas in 973 A D. It was also the title of the earlier Cālukya emperors.

The evidence adduced above shows that Śaivism of Kambuja was not Advaitism of Śamkara whom scholars even now persist in calling him a Śaiva No doubt Śrī Śamkara removed all the tantric practices from the

Sanmatas (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Kaumāra, Gāṇāpatya and Śākta) and he would never have countenanced a tantric worship of Śiva according to *Jayadratha Yāmaḷa* etc The name Śiva Soma seems but a transposition of Soma Śiva since his disciple Vāma Śiva had the same surname Śiva There is no doubt that they are Kālāmukha Pāśupatas, and not Advaitins Though the Kāḷāmukhas were also versed in Vedānta, their conception of the Supreme Being was entirely different The first clear mention of Vedānta as such seems to have been in the time of Jayavarma V whose inscription of S 890 establishing an *āśrama* mentions Vedāntins, Smṛtis, Yoga, Vedas and Vedāngas However flattering to our pride in Śrī Śaṃkara it may be, to be told that his influence extended almost in his own lifetime to the lands beyond the seas, the chronological and doctrinal anachronisms cannot be overcome and the identification of Bhagavat Śaṃkara, the *guru* of Śiva Soma, with Ādi Śaṃkara should be rejected

S Srikantha Sastri

REVIEWS

IRANIAN AND INDIAN ANALOGUES OF THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL by Sir J. C Coyajee Bombay 90 pp.

The Grail legend, in its different forms, is one of the most elusive but fascinating studies in the realm of folklore and mythology. Scholars have attempted to track it down to its source, and on the evidence stray parallelisms have ascribed its origin to Greek mythology, to the Eleusinian mysteries, to the cults of Samothrace and Crete. There have also been occasional admissions of the fact that the idea of the Grail or Royal glory was probably not European in its origin, but was common to the Aryan races and as such its earlier manifestations should be sought in the rich mass of allegorical stories of ancient India and of Iran It is these two sources that the author analyses in this neatly printed volume The Iranian folklore, as embodied in he *Avesta* the *Yashts*, and the *Shahnāma*, afford the closest analogy to the Arthurian Cycle of the Grail romance and explain many hitherto unintelligible features and incidents The idea of Royal Glory or Hvarno possessed by Kaikhusrau survived down to the medieval period in Iran when it was known as *Farr-i-Izadi* the divine light, and has been one of the cardinal features of Iranian tradition Analogous conceptions are found in Indian mythology also There are striking and significant resemblances to the Arthurian Romance and also to the Iranian Saga in the story of the elemental war between the Devas and Asuras for the possession of the four-fold symbol of worldly blessings *Śrī*, Faith, Cow and *Amrta* The association of water with the great Secret is common to all forms of the story Other points of similarity are also noticeable, but as Sir Jahangir suggests, the monistic tendency of the Indian mind was unable to accept the war between Good and Evil (Deva and Asura) as a cardinal reality, whereas in Iran, the belief in the eternal rivalry of the two forces led to its development into a cult, centred on the god Mithra It became a quest for the symbol of power (Hvarno or Grail) pursued by the two forces personified by the Iranian Kaikhusrau and Turanian Afrasiyab Through the agency of the Roman empire the idea found its way to Europe where according to the author, Mithraism for a long time enjoyed a dominant position

A. B M. HABIBULLAH

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sunthankar with the co-operation of other scholars. Fasciculus 11—Āraṇyakaparvan (1). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.

We accord our hearty welcome to the first fasciculus of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the monumental edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken and systematically pushed forward by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. The fasciculus comprises the first 154 *adhyayas* or about half of the *parvan* It is edited by Dr Sukhthankar himself. The edition is based on a collation of 28 manuscripts representing different recensions and versions Several other manuscripts, not mentioned in the critical apparatus, are also stated to have been consulted wholly or in part and variants from them are recorded from time to time (4 7, 14 6) A manuscript of the Bengali version dated 1261 A D is perhaps the oldest Ms consulted

The edition could not profit by a comparison of Devabodha's Commentary and the Javanese version of the present section, as they are not available But fortunately there were fewer textual difficulties in the *parvan* to be solved with their help 'The text of the Āraṇyaka", in the words of the learned editor, "is, relatively speaking, remarkably smooth.' As a result of the critical analysis of the text and the collation of the mss several passages occuring in the vulgate have been omitted in the edition Of these special mention may be made of the sections dealing with Arjuna's temptation by Urvaśī (chapters 45-6 of the Bombay edition) and the killing of Naraka and the rescue of the earth by Visnu (chapter 142 of the Bombay edition) These and other long omissions will be given in the form of an appendix in the concluding fasciculus of the parvan while minor omissions of lines and couplets are recorded in footnotes

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY by Dr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M A, Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 458 with 10 plates

The standard work on the subject was for a long time *The Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. G Rao Various other works had appeared since the publication of that book but their scope being limited the value of Mr. Rao's work remained undiminished. Mr. Rao however had paid greater attention to the ancient texts on Iconography and did not do full

justice to the archaeological side of the subject Hence a comprehensive book co-ordinating the results obtained from the study of ancient iconographical texts as well as archaeology was a desideratum. Dr. Banerjea is to be congratulated for having fulfilled it

The book contains eight chapters Study of Hindu Iconography, Antiquity of image worship in India, Origin and development of image worship in India, Brahmanical divinities and their emblems on early Indian coins, Deities and their emblems on early Indian seals, Iconoplastic art in India, Iconographic terminology and Canons of Iconometry Appendix A contains a number of important notes relating to the image worship and Appendix B contains a critical edition of a valuable iconographic text—the ***Pratimāmānalakṣanam***, brought from Nepal, an extract from the ***Bṛhatsamhitā*** on Hindu iconography and tables of measurement from the texts Appendix C contains a table of measurements of some mediaeval images.

In regard to the antiquity of image worship in India Dr Banerjea has discussed all the important theories of previous writers, drawn attention to their short-comings and has given his considered opinion that there was no image-worship in the early Vedic religion In other chapters he has clearly shown how Indian coins and seals can materially help us to ascertain the early iconographic types of Hindu divinities and their emblems In the treatment of this subject he has introduced altogether new materials previously neglected While dealing with the Indian canons of iconometry he has not overlooked the importance of a comparison of these canons with other canons His discussion of the Iconographic terminology is as thorough as possible in the present state of our knowledge

In short, this work is the outcome of years of careful study of Indian Archaeology and Iconographic literature Every page bears the stamp of his erudition and reveals the great critical acumen of the author It may be however pointed out that although the treatment of the subject under various heads is a continuous one the book has the appearance of a collection of articles But this appearance of disconnectedness does not detract the value of the contribution and interfere with our following the development of the theme in each chapter in an uninterrupted way A chapter on the evaluation of the iconographical data collected by him from the viewpoint of art would have probably increased the value of the book. This probably will be treated by the author in the forthcoming volumes which

have been promised and which we hope will not be long delayed. The author has placed all students of Indian art under a deep debt of obligation and has made a valuable contribution to our store of knowledge.

P. C. BAGCHI

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC WORLD by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M A., D.Litt, published by the Book Company Ltd, Calcutta, with a Foreword by Mr Ramananda Chatterji, pp 294

Dr Nag is without doubt one of the most widely travelled Professors and has seen things with his own eyes in both the hemispheres. He is thus in a far better position than many of us to compare things which are of interest to the present day India With a certain amount of justification he introduces his book to the public in the following words "The Pacific ocean in our early school days was made to appear too far away to have any relations with India and too vague and vast for seeking human relationship Books of geography were mostly manufactured in the countries bordering on the Atlantic and therefore we find in them a pardonable exaggeration of the importance of the Atlantic civilisation What was unpardonable however was the indifference and ignorance, betrayed by the general group of writers, regarding the history of the Pacific countries and their cultures" Such considerations have led Dr Nag to remove a want which he himself has keenly felt like all of us

He has dealt with almost all the important countries in and around the Pacific viz Polynesia, the Maori land, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, the Thailand Indo-China, Java and Sumatra, China and Japan He has surveyed the civilisation of all these countries, in all its important aspects Pre-history, Anthropology, Archaeology and modern history He has given in each of these branches a complete account of the important works done, the materials available for further studies and has appraised in a popular style the part played by the peoples of all these countries from the pre-historic ages up to the most recent times He has specially drawn our attention to the part played by India in the dissemination of the higher forms of culture in those lands He deals with things ancient as an able student of history and pre-history, and presents before us the things modern with the sympathy of Pierre Loti. This sympathy has at times instilled in him an amount of enthusiasm for the future which sometimes surpasses

reasonable limits, but that does not in any way take away the value of the book The author is to be warmly congratulated for this valuable production.

P. C. BAGCHI

VARNA-RATNĀKARA OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA-KAVIŚEKHARĀCĀRYA edited with English and Maithilī Introductions and *Index Verborum* by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M A, D Litt, F R A.S B and Babua Misra, *Jyautisa-tīrtha* and *Jyotisācārya*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1940, pages Royal Octavo lxiv + 8 + 266 (*Bibliotheca Indica* no 262)

It is a great pity that Maithilī, the language of over ten millions of people in Bihar, with a long culture behind it and boasting of at least one great poet, Vidyāpati, whose position is of the first rank in Indian literature, is regarded in its own home-land as a rustic speech, Hindustani (High Hindī or Urdū) alone being recognised as the vernacular of the land in the schools and law courts But in spite of this neglect to Maithilī by its native speakers this language with its wealth of literature (be it due to only one great writer) did not fail to claim the patronage of the University of Calcutta as early as 1919 Thanks to the efforts of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the study of Maithilī along with other Modern Indo-Aryan languages was included in the syllabus of the M A examination This fact may be said to lead to the publication of Jyotirīśvara's *Varnaratnākara* the earliest extant work in Maithilī Information of its existence in a unique MS was given by the late Mm Haraprasad Śāstrī as early as 1901 Since then this work has several times been referred to by scholars including Mm Haraprasad and Prof Chatterji But it was not before 1923 that the plan of a regular edition of the *Varnaratnākara* was taken in hand by Prof Chatterji. As the MS of the work in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society was not complete, a second text and a complete one was felt to be imperatively necessary for editing the work properly. But attempts in this direction not being successful during the years that elapsed since then the Asiatic Society MS continues to be the unique MS and only source of this valuable work

The author of the *Varṇaratnakara*, Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakkura, is quite a well known figure in the late medieval Skt literature He is also the author of at least two Skt works the *Dhūrta-samāgama*, a *prahasana* and the

Pañcasāyaka a work on erotics. Besides these another work on erotics (*Raṅgaśekhara*) has also been ascribed to him (*JASB*, 1915, p. 414 footnote).

From the prologue of the *Dhūrtasamāgama* we learn that Jyotirīśvara's father was Dhīreśvara and his grandfather was Rāmeśvara, that he was a high court official of the king Harasimhadeva of Mithilā who flourished in the first quarter of the 14th century. Lassen's view that Jyotirīśvara belonged to the 15th-16th centuries and was the court-poet of a Vijayanagara king, is no longer tenable, though Prof A. B Keith has unfortunately stuck to it in his *Sanskrit Drama*, (1924), even after the late Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti gave us authentic information about the date and personality of Jyotirīśvara (*JASB*, 1915, p. 411)

The subject-matter of the *Varnaratnākara* is very curious It was composed probably for the *Kathakas* or public reciters of Puranic and Epic stories. In course of narration reciters embellished their stories by means of gorgeous descriptions For example in describing a city they are to mention its bazars, suburbs, gates, walls, houses, buildings, temples, citizens etc and besides this, in describing important objects chains of similies were heaped on them to impress the audience The *Varnaratnākara* is a handbook furnishing a catalogue of objects necessary to be enumerated in various descriptions as well as apt similies needed to glorify some of important items.

The habit of the *Kathakas* might have been derived ultimately from the Jains who in their canonical prose often use descriptive *clichés* called *Varṇakas* It is possible, though earlier scholars seem to have overlooked the fact, that the ornate Sanskrit prose writer in the *Gauḍī rīti* had his cue from the Jain canons As both these flourished in Eastern India a possibility of their genetic connexion may not be easily set aside.

In Pāli works too *Varnakas* are met with, but they are not so plentiful as in Jain canons

The *V R* is divided into eight *kallolas* which are as follows

(1) *nagara-varnana*, (2) *nāyikā-va°*, (3) *āsthāna-va°*, (4) *rtu-va°*, (5) *prayānaka-va°*, (6) *bhaṭṭādi-va°*, (7) *śmaśāna-va°* and (8) title missing

From the account of various subjects described or listed in this work the very great value of the *V R.* as a compendium of life and culture in mediaeval India will be easily seen. The book in this respect will be to some extent comparable to the *Mānasollāsa* (12th century) In the glimpses it presents of the contemporary court-life and its surroundings, it calls to one's mind the famous *Āīn-i-Akbarī* with its lists and detailed

accounts of various things. Although written a little over a century after the Turkī conquest of Northern India the work breathes a purely Hindu atmosphere. This fact is a sufficient indication of its genuineness, although the MS was copied some two centuries later.

The varying views of life in North Eastern India of the 15th century as presented in the *V R* affords a valuable commentary on the epigraphic as well as other literary records of the contemporary and earlier periods. List of court officials and such other persons as given in the description of court (*āsthāna-va*°) for example is longer than similar lists in earlier Bengal and North-Eastern grants on copper plate For the various other phases of cultural life of the period this work is of inestimable value Sometimes it gives rare information For example in describing different kinds of gambling it mentions the four-handed dice-chess or *caturaṅga* which has become thoroughly obsolete now Those who are interested in the game may consult the Skt text named the *Caturangadīpikā* published in 1934 in Calcutta Skt. Series. It gives the rules of the game and its history Music and dance described in the 6th *Kallola* of the *V R* also afford important materials for the history of these two subjects.

Though the *V R* may have importance from different standpoints the present edition stresses very rightly on its character as a linguistic document For the *V R* is one of a comparatively small number of authentic works in a modern Indo-Aryan language, which goes back to the 14th century In the language of the learned editor, its position is equally important with the 'Caryās and the 'Śrīkṛsna-kīrttana in Bengali, the 'Jñāneśvarī in Marāthī and the earlier old Western Rājasthanī, Braj-bhākhā and Awadhī works.

Prof. Chatterji, the chief editor of the work, in a very learned introduction, has pointed out among other things manifold importance of the work and discussed very thoroughly the life and times of the author as well as the varied contents of the work. The discussion of the language of the *V R* which forms a part of this introduction is all what can be expected from the hands of a veteran student of Modern Indo-Aryan like Prof. Chatterji. But, as he has admitted (p. xxv), quite a number of terms used in the work remains obscure. It is hoped that scholars of Mithilā will try to rescue these words which might have sought refuge with the pure Maithilī idiom of the lower classes. They may be easily gathered from the well prepared index of words which has been appended to the book. After all that have

been said before it seems needless to add that the volume under review has made important addition to materials for reconstruction of the various phases of the culture of North-Eastern India. The learned editors and the Royal Asiatic Society have earned the gratitude of scholars by this important publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

PRAVEŚAKA by Acyuta Piṣārati, edited with Laghuvrtti by P. S Anantanarayana Sastri, published by the Sanskrit College Committee, Trippunithura, 1938

The Praveśaka, an easy treatise on Skt grammar in verse, was written in the latter half of the 16th century by the famous Kerala poet and grammarian Acyuta Piṣārati The advantage of versification in helping memorisation can easily be understood Hence it is found that more authors than one have composed metrical treatises on Sanskrit grammar As is very natural for a practical hand-book written for general students this work does not scrupulously follow the Pāninian tradition. But in spite of this a study of the present work will give one a working knowledge of Sanskrit grammar necessary for writing and speaking the language correctly This excellent work was in ms up till the present time when through the munificence of the Maharaja of Cochin it has been published The editor who has added a lucid Sanskrit commentary of his own to the work may be said to have done his duty properly The printing of the work is good

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

VĀRARUCA-NIRUKTA SAMUCCAYA edited by C Kunhan Raja University of Madras 1938 pp xliii + 82 + 88

This is a short work in which about one hundred Vedic mantras are commented upon The work which has never been known before has been edited from a single ms in the possession of the Adyar Library Though more than one work was ascribed to Vararuci it does not seem possible to have any definite information about the life and time of the author of the present treatise From the title it appears that the work has something to do with the Nirukta of Yāska and in fact the contents of the work amply shows his dependence in many cases on the famous Vedic interpreter of antiquity. Vedic mantras commented upon in this work have been divided into *Kalpas*

In classifying the mantras the author of the Vārarucaniruktā-Samuccaya followed to a considerable extent a tradition different from the one followed in the *Brhaddevatā*. This latter work has divided the mantras into 36 classes while in the work under review we have 32 classes of mantras, and the two works have names of fifteen classes in common. But curiously enough when one takes into consideration the examples of these 15 classes given in the two works there does not appear much correspondence. The learned editor has among other things drawn attention to this fact. Besides this the present work offers other features which will interest students of Vedic exegetical literature. The editor of the work Dr C K Raja seems to have done his work with all possible care and may be congratulated on its publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

BHĀRATVARSA-MEM JĀTIBHED (*Hindī*) by Prof Kshitimohan Sen Shastri, M A, published by S Sharma, Calcutta, 1940, pages D/C 1/16, 11 + 264

Çaste which is a peculiar Indian institution has for a long time been a target of attack by social and religious reformers as well as politicians. It cannot be said that this attack was unmerited. But zealous critics of caste have often in their enthusiasm lost sight of the historical background of this institution and subjected Indian society in general to undeserved condemnation. Hence the present work discussing the nature and origin of Indian caste from the standpoint of history has been a welcome addition to our knowledge of Indian society and its one great problem.

In course of tracing the history of caste Prof. Sen has shown among other things that this institution was very elastic in the earlier period (pp 24-43) and when caste gradually became rigid, reaction set against it, and evidence of such reaction is to be met with even in some Purānas and the *Mahābhārata* (pp 45, 47, 51-53). Besides this he has discussed thoroughly other aspects of caste with suitable references and quotations from works ancient as well as modern, and seemed to have cleared some obscure points in the history of Indian caste-system. Specialists as well as general readers will find this work very useful and interesting. Prof Sen is already well-known for his valuable work in connection with mystics (*Santas*) of medieval India and it may be hoped that this work will add to his reputation.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

SULTAN MUHAMMED QULI QUTUB SHAH by Dr. Syed Mohiuddin Qadri Zore, M A, Ph D (London). Published by the Idara-i-Adabyat-i-Urdu. Hyderabad, Deccan

This monograph in Urdu comes out from the pen of Dr Zore, Head of the Department of Urdu, Osmania University

Sultan Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah, renowned Urdu poet, founder of the city of Hyderabad, succeeded to the throne at the age of about 15 years, (to be exact he was 14 years 6 months and 8 days old), as the fifth Qutub Shahi king In this book the author has attempted to present a true and vivid picture of the social intellectual, and cultural life of that period, as culled out from various unpublished sources, of which he has made ample use

The author has very ably utilised the verses poems and other poetic composition of this monarch, as well as, of other court poets Being himself a poet of no mean a standard, he has succeeded in drawing an accurate portrait of the king Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah has to his credit no less than 5670 verses in Urdu and Persian Unfortunately his Telugu verses are lost for ever No wonder his brilliant mastery over that language knitted him closer to his subjects Although dubbed by some as the Happy-go-lucky monarch it is under him Golcunda rose to the peak of power, with peace prosperity, and plenty

This book contains ten chapters, dealing with his succession his taste and aptitude for fine arts Three chapters are devoted to the cultural, social, intellectual and other aspects of his reign, while the fifth describes the wars, and the sixth speaks of his administration, seventh announces his demise The last three chapters (8, 9, 10) go to prove his wider and saner outlook of life and his magnificent contribution to Urdu.

When we say all these things, we do not mean to say that the Sultan was free from vices Far from it, his own admission of his faults ring in our ears There was more of romance in his temperament than in his career Yet with all his shortcomings, he stands out prominent in the gallaxy of rulers of the Deccan Truly, then in forming an estimate of the character and achievements of Sultan Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah we may point out to the city of Hyderabad, and by way of epitaph on the grave of Sultan Muhammed Quli, we may inscribe the old verse

'Si monumentum requiris circumspice' (If you require a monument look around you).

We congratulate the author for his work, and hope that in near future he would give us its English version for the use of scholars all over India. The book is nicely printed with a useful index and 19 photo blocks, for which the Idara-i-adabyat-i-Urdu deserves our compliments

K. SAJUN LAL

Select Contents of the Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VI, pt. 2

P K GODE —*Date of Rāmatīrtha Yati the Author of a Commentary on the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka—Between A D 1525 and 1575*

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS —*Editions of the Jīvānandanam* of Ānandarāya Makhin and the *Āpastambasmṛti*, English Translations of the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* with *Devasvāmibhāṣya* and the *Gopālatāpany-upaniṣad* and the Edition of the *Acyutarāyābhyudaya* of Rājanātha Diṇḍima continue to appear in the Journal The *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* of Vedāntadeśika and the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and the *Vṛtti* of Dinnāga with the commentary of Dharmapāla are completed in this issue

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol VIII, no 4 (October, 1942)

P D CHAUDHURY --*The Khonamukh Copper plate Grant of Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa* It relates to a set of three copper-plates recording the grant of a plot of land by the Kāmarūpa king Dharmapāla of the 12th century to a Brāhmaṇa at Khonamukh in Nowgong in Assam The plates containing genealogies of the donor and the donee were made in the first year of the king's reign, and are therefore earlier than the other copper-plate inscriptions previously published.

N K BHATTASALI —*The Badgaṅgā Rock Inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarman* This inscription in Gupta script records the establishment of a religious asylum (āśrama) by a minister of king Bhūtivarman, a great predecessor of king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Bearing as it does the date 234th year of the Gupta era (554 A C), this becomes the earliest inscription hitherto discovered in Assam.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXVIII, pt 1 (March, 1942)

P C. MANUK —*Indian Painting* This paper deals in broad outline with the history and development of 'Pictorial Art' in India up to the recent past, beginning from the pre-historic period representing drawings in red pigment found on the walls of caves in C.P. and U.P.

D R. REGMI.—*Sources for a History of Nepal (880 A.D—1680 A D.)* Inscriptions, genealogical chronicles, old manuscripts, foreign accounts

and coins are found helpful in gathering information from the time of Rāghavadeva to that of the pre-Gorkha Malla Karnātakas, covering a period of eight hundred years of Nepalese history.

R. OJHA.—*The Indra-Vrtra War and 'Serpent People'*. Mythical stories similar to that of the struggle between Indra and Vrtra as found in the Vedic and Purānic literature were known to the ancient people of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece and Persia. The Jews and the Hittites had also the myth among them in some form or other. This may be due to a common origin or a borrowing from the pre-Aryan mythology. Prevalence of serpent worship and reference to 'serpent people' are also a characteristic feature of the mythological accounts of the various peoples of ancient times inhabiting a wide area of the globe. This may be due to the fact that the serpent-worshipping people had spread from the Mediterranean coasts to the plains of India.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. IX, no. 1 (January, 1942)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Dvīpāntara*. The Chinese equivalent of the term Dvīpāntara is Kouen-louen, applied to 'the Islands and the continent of the Southern Seas' in Indonesia. The word Dvīpāntara found in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the Tamil *Guruparamparai* seems to have been used as a proper name signifying the Malaya peninsula, which was naturally referred to as 'the other island' across the sea by the Indians.

S. K. SARASWATI.—*Temples at Pagan*.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XX, pt. 3 (December, 1941)

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.—*Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu*. Candragupta who, according to Jaina tradition, abdicated his throne and retired to the South as a follower of the Jaina sage Bhadrabāhu, was the Gupta monarch Vikramāditya Candragupta and not the founder of the Mauryan empire. The sage whom he accompanied was also the Upāngi Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II and not the Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu. The era starting from 58 B.C. was founded, as the writer of the paper believes, by this Candragupta. His retirement from the world therefore took place in the first century B.C.

BAIJNATH PURI.—*The Dates of the Kadphises Kings and their Relations with the Śaka Ksatrapas of Western India*.

H K. SHERWANI —*Establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom* The Reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Shāh.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1941, part 4

HUGO BUCHTHAL —*Indian Fables in Islamic Art* The fables in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* were translated into Pehlvi in the 6th century of the Christian era In the 8th century, they were rendered into Arabic in a somewhat Islamic garb, and the collection was called by the Muhammadans the 'Fables of Bidpai' or the 'Book of Kalila wa Dimna' The vivid narratives being eminently suitable for portraiture, the illustrated manuscripts of 'Fables of Bidpai' found favour in some Muhammadan courts of the Arabic world The earliest Bidpai manuscript with the miniature painting dates from the 13th century and comes from the court of a prince of Northern Syria. The art of these miniatures betrays considerable Christian influence from the neighbouring Christian territories In the succeeding periods of the Islamic Mongols the manuscripts of the Persian translations of the fables also continued to be decorated with miniature paintings with this difference that they now began to be inspired by the artistic traditions of the East

W RUBEN *The Puranic Line of Heroes* A comparison of the Sambhavaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and the Vamśaparvans of the *Harivamśa* and the *Brahma*, *Visnu* and other Purānas on the other, as also a scrutiny of the accounts of Krsna's activities given in these works show that even the *Visnupurana* is indebted in some respects to the *Brahmapurāna* which is regarded by the Purānas themselves as the Ādipurana which again has borrowed from the *Harivamśa*, a supplement and an imitation of the *Mahābhārata*

New Indian Antiquary, vol V, no. 1 (April, 1942)

R C. HAZRA — *The Devī-purāna* The *Devīpurāna* is one of the important Upapurānas dealing with the exploits and worships of Devī It contains information regarding literature on the worship of Śakti The main body of the work is believed to have been composed in the latter half of the seventh century of the Christian era somewhere in the vicinity of Tamluk in Bengal A list of verses quoted from the *Devīpurāna* in later works has been appended to the paper

Ibid., vol. V, no. 2 (May, 1942)

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI.—*The Dīpakalikā of Śūlapāṇi with special Reference to the Vyavahāra Section.* The *Dīpakalikā* is a commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā* by the Bengal scholiast Śūlapāṇi. The special features of the commentary have been pointed out and the available mss. of the work have been described in this note

Poona Orientalist, vol VI, nos. 3 & 4 (October 1941 & January 1942)

S. M. KATRE.—*On the Present Needs of Indian Linguistics*

H. G. NARAHARI.—*On the Origin of the Upaniṣadic Thought* Arguments are put forward in the paper to show that the philosophical ideas of the Upaniṣads were a logical development of the earlier speculations of the Brāhmaṇas. The Kṣatriya princes acquired proficiency in the Upaniṣadic thoughts by coming in contact with the erudite Brāhmaṇas who used to gather in the courts of those days for exhibiting their skill in philosophical discourses

P. K. GODE.—*The Historical Background of the Cimanicarita* This romantic poem in Sanskrit composed in the 17th century by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita deals with the love of the daughter-in-law of Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān, a minister of rank in the Mughal court

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Subjects of Law and Law of Family according to the Yājñavalkyadharmaśāstra*

M. P. L. SASTRY.—*The Word Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature* The different meanings of the word have been dealt with

D. R. MANKAD.—*The Yugas* The methods of the yuga calculations have been discussed and the number of years given to each yuga ascertained.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI.—*Tithiviveka of Śūlapāṇi* Edited

V. V. DIXIT.—*Relation of Epics to Brāhmana Literature* Continues.

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